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THE
H I S T O R Y
OF
GREAT BRITAIN,

FROM THE
FIRST INVASION OF IT BY THE ROMANS
UNDER JULIUS CÆSAR.

WRITTEN ON A NEW PLAN.

✓
BY ROBERT HENRY, D. D.

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THE ROYAL SOCIETY OF EDINBURGH.

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TO THE PUBLIC.

WHEN I formed the plan of this work, it was my intention to lay before the Reader as much useful, authentic, and amusing information, on the subjects of the seven chapters of each book, as I could collect, without paying any regard to the proportion of these chapters to one another, in point of length. This, I knew, would be different in different ages, as the manners, circumstances, and pursuits of the people of Britain changed. In that part of the fifteenth century which is the subject of the present book, both the British nations were more constantly engaged in war, these wars were more fierce and bloody, and produced more sudden and surprising revolutions, than in any other period. This is the reason that the first chapter of this book is longer than that of any of the former books, in proportion to the other chapters, though nothing hath been omitted in any of these chapters that seemed worthy of a place in general history. I take no delight in describing scenes of slaughter and desolation, though such descriptions may be useful, and on the present occasion were unavoidable. It was impossible to draw a faithful picture of our ancestors, in those unhappy times, without painting them in arms, destroying one another, or carrying destruction into other countries.

TO THE PUBLIC.

countries. I look forward with pleasure to the succeeding periods of our history, when the sword was oftener sheathed, and the arts of peace were cultivated with greater assiduity and success.

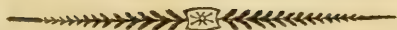
In discovering the truth, and forming the events of this period into a clear, consistent, and well-authenticated narration, I have experienced several difficulties. Some of the events are so surprising, that they are hardly credible; others are involved in darkness almost impenetrable; and the information afforded by the contemporary historians is seldom satisfactory, often confused, and sometimes contradictory. Whether I have succeeded or not, in surmounting these difficulties, is humbly submitted to the decision of the Public. I shall only say, that I have attempted it, and that the attempt hath cost me no little thought and labour, as well as time.

R. H.

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THE

T H E
H I S T O R Y
O F
G R E A T B R I T A I N.

B O O K V.

C H A P. I.

The civil and military history of England, from the accession of Henry IV. A. D. 1399, to the accession of Henry VII. A. D. 1415.

S E C T I O N I.

From the accession of Henry IV. A. D. 1399, to the accession of Henry V. A. D. 1413.

THE accession of Henry IV. may be dated on September 30, A. D. 1399, when he was placed on the throne by the archbishops of Canterbury and York, in the presence, and with the approbation, of both houses of parliament (1). After a soothing speech from the throne, which hath been already related, he adjourned the parliament to October 9, that he might have leisure to prepare for his coronation, which he appointed

(1) T. Walsingham, p. 360. T. Otterbourne, a Th. Hearn edit. tom. I. p. 220.

A.D. 1399. to be on the 13th of the same month, the anniversary of his going into exile (2). He was accordingly crowned at Westminster on that day, by T. Arundel, archbishop of Canterbury, with all the ancient solemnities, and some new ones of his own invention, admirably calculated to impress the minds of a superstitious people with greater veneration for his person and authority (3). Thus, by a very surprising revolution, Henry duke of Lancaster, surnamed Bollinbroke, from the place of his birth, in less than three months of an exile, became the crowned anointed king of a great and powerful nation.

Perplexities
and dangers
of king
Henry.

Though Henry was now in peaceable possession of the throne, he was neither secure in his state nor easy in his mind; but, on the contrary, he was involved in many perplexities, and exposed to many dangers. He evidently owed his elevation to a sudden gale of popular favour, excited by compassion for his sufferings; and he could not but be sensible that this might soon subside, or take a different turn. Edward the black prince had long been the boast and darling of the English nation, and his memory was held in the highest veneration. Richard, his unhappy son, was still alive, and, in spite of all his errors, had many friends, who lamented his fall, and ardently desired his restoration. Henry increased his perplexities and dangers, by the pride and jealousy of his nature, which never allowed him to acknowledge that he had received the crown from the free gift of the people, by their representatives in parliament, as a reward for having delivered them from tyranny, though all the world knew that he had no other title. He could not seriously pretend that he had conquered England, when he arrived in it with only eighty persons in his company, and owed

(2) He commanded the sword which he wore when he landed at Ravenspore, to be carried naked and erect before him, calling it *Lancaster Sword*, intimating, that he was determined to defend his crown by his sword. The oil with which he was anointed (contained in a vessel of stone, with a cover of gold set with diamonds), it was affirmed, had been brought from heaven by the Virgin Mary, and delivered to St. Thomas Becket, with a declaration, that the kings anointed with that oil would be great and victorious princes, and zealous champions of the church. However ridiculous this tale may appear to us, it is related by the contemporary historians as a certain truth.

(3) See vol. 4. b. 4. c. 1. §. 5. Otterbourne, p. 220. Walsing. p. 360.

all his success to the voluntary conflux of the people to his standard; and though he hinted at the right of conquest when he claimed the crown, he was obliged immediately to disavow it. Nor could he pretend to the hereditary right of blood; for that was evidently in Edmund Mortimer, the young earl of March, descended from Lionel duke of Clarence, the elder brother of John of Gaunt, duke of Lancaster; and Roger, earl of March, the father of that young nobleman, had a few years before been declared presumptive heir to Richard II. by act of parliament. Richard earl of Cambridge, also one of the sons of Edmund duke of York, who had married Ann, sister of Edmund, earl of March, considered himself as injured by the intrusion of Henry into the throne; Charles VI. king of France was greatly enraged at the deposition of Richard his son-in-law, and threatened vengeance; and the Scots waited with impatience the expected commotions in England, in order to invade it. Besides all this, Henry lay under such mighty obligations to those who had espoused his cause (particularly to the two powerful earls of Northumberland and Westmoreland), that he found it as difficult to secure the adherence of his friends, by gratifying their desires, as to guard against the designs of his enemies.

Henry's wisdom, courage, and good fortune, did not desert him in this critical situation, and he pursued the most prudent measures for preserving the prize he had obtained. The parliament which had deposed Richard, and raised the duke of Lancaster to the throne, had been called in the name of the first of these princes, but was entirely under the influence of the last, who therefore continued it, and made it the instrument of enacting whatever he thought fit to dictate. This obsequious assembly entailed the crown upon Henry and his descendants, without assigning any reason, or taking notice of the pretensions of any other person (4). It repealed all the acts of that famous parliament which met at Westminster, A. D. 1397, and at Shrewsbury A. D. 1398, though all the lords, both spiritual and temporal, had

A. D. 1399.

Henry makes the parliament an instrument of fixing him on the throne.

(4) Hall, folio 10, 11.

A.D. 1399. taken a solemn oath never to consent to the repeal of these acts (5). The earls of Rutland, Kent, Huntington, Somerset, Salisbury, Thomas lord d'Espencer, and William le Scrop, had been the great friends and confidants of king Richard, the accusers of the duke of Gloucester, the earls of Arundel and Warwick, in the late parliament, and had received grants of the forfeited estates of these noblemen, and been raised to the higher titles of dukes of Albemarle, Surrey, Exeter, marquis of Dorset, earls of Gloucester and Wiltshire, as a reward for that service. Henry, suspecting them of a secret attachment to their former master, determined to humble and reduce them under his mercy, that he might either ruin them, or gain them to his interest. With this view he prevailed upon this parliament to deprive them of the titles and fortunes they had obtained in the last, and to leave them at his mercy as to their former honours and estates (6). The parliament having done every thing Henry could devise for fixing him firmly on the throne, was dissolved.

Rewards his friends.

To reward his most powerful friends, was one of the first cares of this wise prince. On the very first day of his reign, he constituted Henry Percy earl of Northumberland, constable, and Ralph Nevil earl of Westmoreland, marshal of England; and a few days after, he granted the Isle of Man to the former, and the earldom of Richmond to the latter (7). In the distribution of favours, his own family was not forgotten; his eldest son, Henry, was created prince of Wales, duke of Cornwall, and earl of Chester, October 15, and a few days after, duke of Aquitaine (8). To the earls of Warwick and Arundel, all their estates and honours were restored; and on many others honours, grants, and offices, were bestowed.

Courts the clergy and the people.

Henry, when he was earl of Derby, as well as his father the duke of Lancaster, had been suspected of favouring the opinions of Wickliff; but he now acted a very different part, and courted the favour of the clergy with

(5) T. Walsing. p. 361. T. Otterbourne, p. 222.

(6) T. Walsing. p. 301.

(7) Rym. Fœd. tom. 8. p. 89. 95. T. Otterbourne, p. 222.

(8) Rym. Fœd. tom. 8. p. 91, 3cc. T. Walsing. p. 361.

the greatest diligence, professing the greatest regard to ^{A. D. 1399.} their persons and interest, and to all the ceremonies of their religion (9). To give the people in general a specimen of the difference between his government and that of his predecessor, he issued a proclamation, commanding all the blank bonds, called Ragmans, which had been extorted by Richard and his favourites, to be committed to the flames (10).

When the internal peace of the kingdom, as he ^{Sends am-} imagined, was thus secured, he bent his thoughts to ^{bassadors to} avert the storms which threatened him from abroad. ^{France and} With this view he sent Thomas Skirlowe bishop of Dur- ^{Scotland,} ham, and Thomas Percy earl of Worcester, ambassadors to the court of France, with instructions to negotiate, if possible, some intermarriages between the two royal families, and by all means to prevent a war; to which the unsettled state of that court, and of the king's health, who was subject to frequent fits of madness, contributed more than any arguments they could employ (11). The Scots, expecting an invasion of England from France, made an incursion into Northumberland, took and destroyed the castle of Wark, and plundered the open country (12). Henry, unwilling to engage in a war so soon, gave a commission to the earl of Westmoreland, to enter into a negotiation with these troublesome neighbours; and the Scots, disappointed of the French invasion, retired into their own country, and desisted from hostilities (13).

But all these precautions could not prevent the plots ^{A. D. 1400.} of Henry's enemies; and a very dangerous one broke out ^{Conspiracy} in the beginning of this year. The earls of Rutland, ^{against} Huntington, Kent, Salisbury, and Gloucester (though ^{Henry.} the two first were his near relations (14), and they had been all kindly treated by the new king), could not forget the estates and titles which they had received from Richard, and of which they had been deprived by Henry in the late parliament. To revenge this injury, as they esteemed it, they held frequent meetings in the lodgings

(9) Rym. Fæd. tom. 8. p. 96, 97. 101, &c.

(10) Id. ibid. p. 109.

(11) Id. ibid. p. 108.

(12) T. Otterbourne, p. 224.

(13) Rym. Fæd. tom. 8. p. 107.

(14) Rutland was his first cousin, and Huntington his brother-in-law.

A.D. 1400. of the abbot of Westminster; where the following plot was formed, for restoring Richard, and depriving Henry of his crown and life. They agreed to proclaim a splendid tournament, to be held at Oxford, January 3, to invite Henry to be present, and preside at that solemnity; and appointed certain assassins to murder him, and such of his sons as were with him, when they were intent in viewing the diversion. The king, who was keeping his Christmas at Windsor, was accordingly invited by the earl of Huntington, his brother-in-law; and, dreading no danger, accepted of the invitation. When the day approached, the conspirators came to Oxford, attended by numerous trains of followers; and every thing seemed to promise success to their scheme (15).

Discovered
and defeated.

But on January 2, the earl of Rutland went privately to Windsor, and discovered the whole plot (of which he had been the chief contriver) to the king. Henry, knowing the treacherous character of the man, who betrayed every party with whom he was connected, hesitated for some time, and remained all the next day at Windsor in a state of suspense. At length, being convinced of the reality of the plot, he set out in the evening for London. In the mean time, the conspirators at Oxford remained in great anxiety, expecting every moment the arrival of the king, and their accomplice the earl of Rutland. Finding they did not arrive, they concluded that their plot was discovered; and resolved to attempt by force what they could not accomplish by fraud, hoping to surprise the king at Windsor, where they knew he had but a slender guard. With this view, the earls of Kent and Salisbury set out from Oxford in the evening, at the head of 400 horsemen, completely armed, and arrived at Windsor next morning, January 4, but found the king had departed the preceding evening (16).

The conspirators punished.

The conspirators were greatly disconcerted by the king's escape. Being joined by their accomplices from Oxford, they remained about Windsor that day, and part of the next, giving out that king Richard had escaped from prison, and commanding all his subjects to repair

(15) T. Walsing. p. 362. Otterbourne, p. 224. Hall, folio 11, 12.
(16) T. Walsing. p. 362. Otterbourne, p. 225.

to his standard. To procure credit to this, they made ^{A. D. 1400.} one Maudlin, a priest, personate Richard, to whom he bore a striking resemblance. Their army, it is said, increased, but their councils were distracted; some insisting on their continuing in a body, and others on their dispersing. On a report that Henry was marching towards them at the head of 20,000 men, this last advice prevailed. The earls of Kent and Salisbury, with their followers, directed their route to Cirencester, where the two earls were assaulted in their lodgings by the inhabitants, on the night of January 6, taken prisoners, and beheaded next morning; for which barbarous, illegal deed, Henry gave them a grant of all their spoils (17). The earl of Gloucester and lord Lumley were taken and beheaded by the populace at Bristol; and the earl of Huntington, who had married lady Elizabeth, the king's sister, was apprehended in Essex, committed to the tower, January 10, and five days after beheaded, with circumstances of great cruelty (18). Sir Benedict Shelley, Sir Bernard Brokes, and twenty-nine other knights and gentlemen, were hanged, drawn, and quartered, at Oxford, and others at different places (19); a proper prelude to those scenes of blood and cruelty which followed in the long contest between the houses of York and Lancaster, occasioned by the fatal ambition of Henry IV.

This conspiracy precipitated the doom of the unhappy Richard. For Henry, finding that he could not expect to enjoy any tranquillity on the throne while his predecessor was alive, commanded him to be taken out of the way; and this command was executed, in the castle of Pomfret, February 13, A. D. 1400; but in what manner is not certainly known. His body was brought to London, the face uncovered, and exposed to the view of all the people in every town on the way, and in St. Paul's church for three days, that all the world might know the certainty of his death (20).

(17) Otterbourne, p. 225, 226, 227. Rym. Fœd. tom. 8. p. 130.

(18) Relation de Prise de Roy, r. 11.

(19) Hall, f. 13.

(20) T. Walsing. p. 363. T. Otterbourne, p. 228. Hall, f. 14. Fabian, f. 166.

A. D. 1400.

Henry in
danger of
losing his
French do-
minions.

Henry had no sooner escaped this dangerous plot at home, than he was threatened with losses and dangers from abroad. The late king Richard was born at Bourdeaux, and beloved by the inhabitants of the English provinces in France; who were greatly enraged when they heard the news of his being dethroned and imprisoned. The French court, taking advantage of their discontent, earnestly solicited them to throw off the English yoke, and put themselves under the protection of France; and these solicitations at first seemed to promise success. But when the passions of the people of these provinces began to cool, and they had leisure to reflect on the different genius of the two governments, they wisely preferred the mild government of a distant sovereign to the tyrannical domination of a too powerful neighbour, whose subjects they saw most grievously oppressed. Henry confirmed them in these sentiments, by bestowing the places of power and profit on the chief noblemen of the country, and by sending Thomas Percy earl of Worcester, with a reinforcement of troops, to support the well-affected (21).

Expedition
into Scot-
land.

The Scots preparing for an expedition into England in the summer of this year, Henry determined to prevent them, by invading their country with a powerful army. Having procured a large supply of money from the clergy and nobility in a great council, and collected a numerous army, he marched into the north, and arrived at Newcastle in the beginning of August. From thence he sent a summons to king Robert III, and all the nobility of Scotland, to meet him at Edinburgh, August 23, to do homage, and swear fealty to him as superior lord of Scotland; which, he modestly affirms, all the former kings of Scotland had done to all the former kings of England, from the days of Brute the Trojan (22). To this summons he received a contemptuous, provoking answer, from Prince David, duke of Rothsay, who was then in the castle of Edinburgh; on which he marched forward and besieged that castle (23). But he soon raised the siege, and returned into England,

(21) Froissart, tom. 4. c. 56. Hall, f. 15. Rym. Feed. tom. 8. p. 117, 118, 119. 141.

(22) Id. ibid. p. 125. 152—157.

(23) Id. ibid. p. 158.

without having done any thing worthy of his mighty preparations. A. D. 1400.

Henry's hasty retreat from Scotland was probably owing to the intelligence he had received of a new enemy. This was the famous Owen ap Griffith Vaughan, lord of Glendowwy, commonly called *Owen Glendour*, a gentleman of a high spirit and great courage, descended from Lewellen, the last of the ancient princes of Wales. In his youth he had studied the law in the inns of court, was called to the bar, and became esquire of the body to Richard II. On the late revolution, he retired to his estate, and carried on a kind of petty war with Rigenald lord Grey of Ruthyn, about certain lands to which each of them laid claim. Henry espoused the cause of lord Grey, and issued a proclamation from Northampton, September 19, commanding all the men capable of bearing arms, in the counties of Warwick, Leicester, Nottingham, Derby, Worcester, Salop, Stafford, Gloucester, Hereford, and Northampton, to repair immediately to his standard, to march into Wales to reduce Glendour, who was declared a rebel. Owen, on the very day after this proclamation, burnt lord Grey's town of Ruthyn, declared himself prince of Wales, and was generally acknowledged as such by his countrymen. Thus, from a private dispute, a national war commenced, which continued several years (24). Henry marched into Wales; but Owen retiring to the mountains, he was obliged to return without seeing an enemy.

This whole year was spent in negotiations between the courts of England and France; the former soliciting a peace or long truce, the latter demanding the restoration of the young queen Isabella, widow of Richard II. and her fortune. When Charles VI. recovered from his fits of frenzy, preparations were made for invading England; when he relapsed, the negotiations were resumed. Henry earnestly desired to retain the young queen, and procure her in marriage for his eldest son the prince of Wales. At length, however, a truce for thirty years was concluded, and the young queen restored (25).

(24) Carte, vol. 2. p. 649, &c. Rym. Fœd. t. 8. p. 160. Walsing. p. 164. Otterbourne, p. 230.

(25) Rym. Fœd. p. 145. 153.

A. D. 1401. Henry called a parliament, January 20, A. D. 1401, which granted him ample supplies (26). A marriage of Henry's daughter. was negotiated, and at last concluded, March 7, between Lewis of Bavaria, eldest son of the emperor of Germany, and the princess Blanch, the king's eldest daughter, with whom he gave a portion of 40,000 nobles (27).

War with Wales. While Henry was engaged in these works of peace, Owen Glendour, at the head of great bodies of Welsh, who now owned him for their prince, and crowded to his standard, made inroads into the English borders, plundering the country, and killing many of the inhabitants. To revenge these insults, Henry invaded Wales twice this year, in June and October: but to little purpose; the Welsh retiring at his approach, and renewing their incursions at his departure (28). In one of these incursions, Glendour gained a considerable victory in Pembrokeshire, which raised his reputation and increased his followers.

A plot. Henry was not only harassed by this revolt of the Welsh, but exposed to the dark attempts of domestic traitors. By one of these he was in great danger of losing his life, towards the end of this year. An instrument of steel, with three long and sharp points, was concealed in his bed, that when he lay down one of them might run into his body; but he fortunately perceived it, and escaped the danger. The author of this plot could never be discovered (29).

A. D. 1402. The revolt of Owen Glendour appeared more formidable than ever in the spring of this year. The Welsh students in the universities and inns of court, the apprentices in London and other towns, and even the common artificers and labourers, returned into Wales, to join his standard, in hopes of recovering the long-lost independency of their country. Owen took the field early, engaged and defeated his ancient antagonist the lord Grey, and made him prisoner (30). Sir Edmund Mortimer, uncle to the young earl of March, collecting

(26) Cotton, p. 405.

(27) Rym. Fœd. t. 8. p. 179.

(28) Vita R. II. p. 174, &c. Rym. Fœd. p. 225.

(29) Walling. p. 364. Otterbourne, p. 232.

(30) Vita R. II. p. 177, 178.

all the friends and vassals of that family, to prevent the ^{A. D. 1402.}devastation of their lands, made up an army of 12,000 men ; with which he engaged Glendour, June 22, near Knighton in Radnorshire ; but was defeated, and taken prisoner, and 1100 of his men slain (31). Though Henry was not ill pleased at the captivity of Mortimer, he was alarmed at the progress of Glendour, and issued a proclamation to all the military tenants of the crown, except those in the northern counties, to meet him at Shrewsbury, August 27, to march with him against the rebels in Wales (32). He divided his army into three bodies ; gave the command of one to his eldest son Henry Prince of Wales, of another to the earl of Arundel, reserving the command of the third to himself. They entered Wales at three different places, to surround the Welsh army, and prevent their escape. But the Welsh kept on the mountains, and avoided an engagement ; and the English armies were so distressed by the scarcity of provisions, and incessant rains (raised, say the contemporary historians, by the necromancy of Owen Glendour), that they were obliged to return, without effecting any thing of importance (33).

Henry's affairs succeeded better in another quarter, where he was not present. About Whitsuntide this year, rumours were circulated with great industry, chiefly by the Franciscan friars, that king Richard was alive, had made his escape into Scotland, and would come from thence in a few weeks, at the head of an army, to recover his crown. These rumours seem to have given Henry great uneasiness. He published proclamation after proclamation, declaring them to be false, and threatening death to all who dared to spread them ; and several persons, particularly Sir Roger Clarendon, with his squire and valet, and eleven priests and friars, were executed for spreading these false reports (34). Agreeable to these reports, a body of 10,000 Scots, commanded by Archibald earl of Douglas, entered England in July, publishing as they advanced, that king Richard was with them, and inviting all his subjects to join them ;

(31) Otterbourne, p. 235.

(32) Rym. Fœd. t. 8. p. 271.

(33) Otterbourne, p. 236. T. Walsing. p. 365.

(34) Rym. Fœd. t. 8. p. 255, 261. Otterbourne, p. 234.

which

A. D. 1102. which seems to have had little effect (35). They pushed their destructive ravages beyond Newcastle : but on their return, they were met by an army collected in the northern counties, commanded by Henry earl of Northumberland and other barons, at Homildon-hill, near Wooller. There, on Holyrood day, a bloody battle was fought, in which the Scots were defeated by the superior dexterity of the English archers. The earl of Douglas, observing that his men could not stand the showers of arrows poured in upon them, alighted from his horse, seized a pike, and trusting to the goodness of his armour, followed by several other lords and gentlemen, rushed into the thickest of the English archers ; where he was overpowered, and taken prisoner, together with the Earls of Fife, Murray, Angus, and Orkney, the lords Montgomery, Erskine, and Innernethy, and about eighty knights (36). The lord Gordon, Sir John Swinton, with about eighty other knights and gentlemen, and a considerable number of common people, were killed (37).

No prisoners to be ransomed.

Henry was transported with joy at the news of this victory, and sent the strictest commands to the earl of Northumberland, Henry Percy, commonly called *Hotspur*, his son, George Dunbar, earl of March in Scotland (who had revolted to the English), and to other barons, not to ransom any of their prisoners, without his particular permission (38) : a command which was not very agreeable to those who received it, and which some of them refused to obey.

A. D. 1403
Conspiracy
of the earls
of North-
umberland,
Worcester,
&c.

The earl of Northumberland, and his valiant son *Hotspur*, in particular, who had been the chief instruments of gaining this great victory over the Scots, and even of raising the duke of Lancaster to the throne, were not a little disgusted at the peremptory tone of that command. They had also some other causes of discontent. Sir Edmund Mortimer was their near relation ; and though they had made frequent applications, they never could obtain permission to treat with Glendour about his ransom ; because Henry both feared and hated the house

(35) Rym. Fœd. t. 8. p. 261.

(36) Ouzbourne, p. 236, 237. Walling. p. 366.

(37) Id. *ibid.*

(38) Rym. t. 8. p. 278.

of Mortimer, on account of their pretensions to the crown. Thomas Percy, earl of Worcester, brother to the earl of Northumberland, had been much beloved and favoured by the late king Richard; and though he had also been honoured and employed by Henry, he still retained a secret indignation against him for the murder of his former master. These noblemen, by communicating their complaints, inflamed each others passions, and at length resolved to exert all their power and influence to dethrone Henry, and place the crown on the head of the young earl of March, the lineal heir. They communicated their design to their prisoner, the earl of Douglas, and granted him his liberty, on condition of his joining them with his followers; to which he consented. They also admitted into their confederacy Owen Glendour, and his prisoner Sir Edmund Mortimer, who agreed to join them with 10,000 men, as soon as they approached the confines of Wales (39).

If this plot had been executed with as much prudence as it was planned, it would probably have deprived Henry of his crown, which cost him so much guilt and labour to acquire. But the precipitancy of Hotspur, and the too great caution or timidity of his father, disconcerted all their measures. The earl of Douglas having joined young Percy about the beginning of July, they marched forward to meet their Welsh confederates, the earl of Northumberland promising to follow them immediately with a great body of men: a promise which he did not perform in proper time. They were joined by the earl of Worcester, and his followers, at Stamford (40). When they arrived at Shrewsbury, and were about to invest that town, they were surprised at the appearance of the royal army, which had been collected with great expedition; the Scotch earl of March vehemently pressing Henry to prevent the increase and junction of his enemies, by the celerity of his motions (41). On July 20, when the two armies were in sight of each other, the earl of Worcester sent a kind of manifesto to Henry, full of the bitterest invectives, accusing him—of many acts of perjury,—of the murder of king Richard,—

(39) Otterbourne, p. 229, &c. T. Walsing. p. 367, &c.

(40) Hall, f. 21.

(41) Otterbourne, p. 241.

A. D. 1403. of the usurpation of the crown from the true heir, the earl of March,—and of various other crimes (42). This inflammatory paper put an end to all hopes of accommodation; and both parties prepared for battle against next day.

**Battle of
Shrewsbury—
27.**

On the morning of July 21, both armies were drawn up in order of battle, on the plains of Hartlefield, near Shrewsbury. The Scots, commanded by the valiant earl of Douglas, began the action by so furious an attack on the van of the royal army, that it was thrown into disorder, and its leader, the young earl of Stafford, slain. King Henry, who commanded the main body of his army, advanced with great rapidity with a reinforcement; which encouraged his troops to rally and repel the enemy. In a little time the battle became general, and raged with uncommon fury. Each of the armies consisted of about 14,000 of the best troops in Britain. The leaders on both sides were equally brave, fired with the most violent animosity, and fought for their fortunes, honours, and lives, which rendered the conflict exceedingly fierce and obstinate. The king displayed the most consummate prudence as a general, and the most undaunted courage as a soldier, killing, as it is said, a great number of his enemies with his own hand. He was nobly supported by his son, the prince of Wales, who (though he was wounded in the face at the beginning of the action) gave a specimen of that intrepidity which afterwards acquired him so much glory. On the other side, young Hotspur and the earl of Douglas are said to have performed prodigies of valour. Victory hovered over the two armies about three hours, sometimes seeming to incline to the one, and sometimes to the other. At length Hotspur being killed by an unknown hand, his troops were quite dispirited, and fled with great precipitation, leaving almost one half of their companions, killed, wounded, or prisoners. The loss of the royal army, in killed and wounded, was also very great. The earl of Worcester, the baron of Kinderton, and Sir Richard Vernon, having been taken, were beheaded two days after the battle. The earl of Douglas was also taken;

but was treated with all becoming civility and respect (43). A. D. 1403.

The earl of Northumberland, recovered from a real or feigned indisposition, was far advanced on his march, with a body of men, to join the confederates, when he received the melancholy news of their defeat, and of the death of his heroic son Hotspur, and of his brother the earl of Worcester. Quite dispirited by these great disasters, he disbanded his little army, and retired to his castle of Warkworth in Northumberland (44). The earl of Northumberland disbanded his army.

After Henry had obtained this great victory, he marched northward, and, by prohibiting his troops and subjects from plundering those who had been engaged in the late rebellion, and offering pardon to all who submitted to his authority, and took an oath required of them, he quieted the minds of the people, and restored the tranquillity of the country (45). The earl of Northumberland, encouraged by the gentleness of these measures, came to York, August 11, threw himself at the king's feet, and implored his mercy. Henry, greatly incensed at the earl's late behaviour, which had endangered his crown and life, received him with a frown: but soon recollecting his former services, and commiserating his fallen state, he granted him his life; and a few months after, he restored him to his honours and estate, depriving him only of the Isle of Man, and the government of Berwick, and some other places of strength (46). Northumberland pardoned.

Though Henry had been so fortunate as to suppress this dangerous rebellion in a little time, he was still surrounded with many enemies, and exposed to many dangers. The French were raising one army, under the duke of Burgundy, to besiege Calais, and another, under the duke of Orleans, to invade Guienne, while a body of their troops actually landed in the Isle of Wight, and an army of Britons plundered and burnt Plymouth (47). The Scots were watching an opportunity A. D. 1404. Henry's dangers and deliverances.

(43) T. Walsing. p. 368, 369. Otterbourne, p. 243, 244. Hall, f. 23, 24.

(44) Otterbourne, p. 244. T. Walsing. p. 369.

(45) Rym. Fœd. t. 8. p. 320, 321, 322.

(46) T. Walsing. p. 369. Otterbourne, p. 245.

(47) Histoire de France, par M. Villar, tom. 12. p. 404. T. Walsing. p. 369.

A.D. 1404. to invade the north; Owen Glendour was at the head of a great army in Wales; much discontent reigned amongst his English subjects; and his exchequer was so exhausted, that he was obliged to disband his army for want of money (48). But all these clouds were dispelled by Henry's prudence and good fortune, and the discord and folly of his enemies. The violent animosity which reigned between the dukes of Burgundy and Orleans disconcerted all the schemes of France; Owen Glendour spent his time chiefly in establishing his authority in Wales, and forming an alliance with the French court; the Scots were amused with negotiations; and the English malcontents vented their spleen in secret murmurs and trifling plots; while Henry replenished his exchequer, by holding two parliaments this year, one at Westminster in January, and another at Coventry in October, from each of which he obtained large supplies; and by various other means (49).

A.D. 1405. The discontents of the English daily increased; and a dangerous conspiracy was formed, in the beginning of this year, by Richard Scrope, archbishop of York, Henry Percy earl of Northumberland, Thomas Mowbray, earl marshal, Thomas lord Bardolph, and many others, to dethrone Henry and place the crown on the head of the young earl of March. When their plot, as they imagined, was ripe for execution, the archbishop published a manifesto, accusing Henry of perjury, murder, usurpation, tyranny, and many other crimes, declaring him excommunicated, promising the pardon of sin, and a place in heaven, to all who assisted in dethroning him, and denouncing damnation on all who dared to support him (50). This manifesto produced a great effect; and when the archbishop erected his standard at York, such multitudes crowded to it, that he soon found himself at the head of an army of 15,000 men, with which he encamped on Shipton-moor, May 9, expecting to be soon joined by the earl of Nor-

(48) *Id. ibid.*

(49) *Villar, tom. 12. p. 404. Rym. Fœd. tom. 8. p. 356 363. 365, 366, 367, 368, 369. T. Walling. p. 369, 370.*

(50) *Anglia Sacra, tom. 2. p. 362.*

thumberland, the lord Bardolph, and their followers (51). A.D. 1405.

This sudden and formidable insurrection made a mighty noise. Henry, who was then at London, collected all the forces he could, and marched northward: his third son, John of Lancaster, and Ralph Nevil, earl of Westmoreland, raised a little army in great haste, with which they approached the insurgents. But the earl, finding them much stronger than he expected, had recourse to art, and employed a stratagem, which had its full effect. He sent a messenger to the archbishop and the earl marshal, demanding the reason of their appearing in arms, and wishing to know their complaints and their desires, that, if they were reasonable, they might be granted, and the effusion of blood prevented. The archbishop and earl sent him a schedule of their demands, which were probably much lower than those in the late manifesto. Whatever they were, Westmoreland pretended to be pleased with them, and requested that a conference might be held by an equal number of the chiefs of both parties in the middle between the two armies. The earl marshal discovered a reluctance to comply with this request, suspecting that some treachery was intended; but at length yielded to the earnest intreaties of the archbishop. At the conference, Westmoreland acted his part with such dexterity, that he banished all suspicion from the minds of the confederated chiefs; he approved, with the greatest seeming sincerity, of the several articles of the treaty, and solemnly swore to procure the king's ratification of it. When this important business was concluded, he called for wine, and proposed, that the chiefs of the opposite parties should embrace, and drink together, in sight of both armies, to convince them, that a perfect reconciliation had taken place. When they were drinking, the earl suggested to the prelate, that it was no longer necessary to keep their armies together, and that therefore each of them should send a messenger to his troops, to acquaint them that a peace was made, and to give them leave to depart immediately to their own homes. The archbishop who was as credulous, as he was sincere, sent the message pro-

Rebellion
suppressed.

(51) Walsing. p. 373. Otterbourne, p. 255.

A. D. 1405. posed, which was obeyed: the earl sent a similar message, but by one who understood his meaning; and it was not delivered. When Westmoreland observed the insurgents dispersing, and in confusion, he threw off the mask, and made the archbishop, the earl marshal, and all their friends, who had come with them to the conference, prisoners, by a party of his own men, who came up at that moment for the purpose. As soon as this news reached the remains of the confederate army, every one consulted his own safety, and fled with the greatest precipitation (52).

The noble prisoners, who had been thus artfully ensnared, were conducted, first to Pomfret, where the king arrived with his army, June 3, and then to York, where sir William Fulthorp, who was constituted chief justice of the king's-bench for that purpose, pronounced a sentence of death on the archbishop, June 8, and he was beheaded the same day, with many circumstances of mean and wanton cruelty, which he bore with the greatest patience and composure (53). The earl marshal and the other prisoners shared the same fate (54).

The north
reduced.

Henry, having punished the people of York for their attachment to their late archbishop, by depriving the city of all its privileges, marched, at the head of 37,000 men, in pursuit of the earl of Northumberland, the lord Bardolph, and other insurgents in the north (55). At Durham he commanded the lord Hastings, the lord Fauconbridge, sir John Colville of the Dale, and sir John Griffith, who had been in the insurrection at York, to be beheaded (56). The earl of Northumberland, lord Bardolph, and their followers, unable to make head against so great a force, took shelter in Berwick; and not thinking themselves safe there, they delivered the town to the Scots, and put a garrison of their own people into the castle, and fled into Scotland to the lord Fleming, by whom they were kindly received and entertained (57). The Scots, not thinking the town of Berwick tenable, set it on fire, and marched home. The garrison in the castle attempted to defend themselves; but one of

(52) This singular transaction seems to be one of the best subjects for tragedy in the English history.

(53) T. Walsing. p. 373.

(54) T. Walsing. p. 374.

(55) Otterbourne, p. 256, 257.

(56) Anglia Sacra, p. 370.

(57) Hall, f. 25.

the towers being demolished by the shot of a great cannon, they were obliged to surrender at discretion ; and the governor (son to the lord of Greystock), and all the chief men, were beheaded (58). In his return southward, the king reduced the castles of Alnwick and Warkworth, without much difficulty. When he arrived at Pomfret, August 10, he made a grant of several great estates of the earl of Northumberland, the lord Bardolph, and the late earl marshal, to his own queen (59).

A. D. 1405

Henry had sent his eldest son, the prince of Wales, in the spring of this year, before the troubles in the north broke out, with a small army, against Owen Glendour ; and that heroic prince defeated a much superior army of the Welsh, March 11, near Grosmont in Monmouthshire (60). But a French fleet of 140 sail arrived at Milford-haven, and landed an army of 12,000 men, which made affairs in Wales take a different turn. Glendour, with the assistance of his French allies, besieged and took Caermarden, which made Henry hasten his return from the north (61). When he arrived at Hereford with his army, September 4, he issued a proclamation, representing, that the kingdom was exposed to great danger, by the junction of the French and Welsh—that his treasures were exhausted by his expedition into the north—that the tenths and fifteenths granted by parliament could not be levied till Martinmas—that he stood in need of a great sum of money immediately, to enable him to march into Wales ; and commanding the sheriffs to call before them the richest men in their several counties, and prevail upon them to advance money on the credit of the tenths and fifteenths (62). Retarded by this want of money, and other obstacles, he did not enter Wales till about the middle of October ; and the season proving uncommonly rainy, the roads impracticable, and provisions scarce, he was obliged to return, without effecting any thing, having lost fifty waggon, containing the most valuable part of his baggage (63). About the same time, Glendour's French auxiliaries returned into their own country. Be-

Transactions in Wales.

(58) Otterbourne, p. 256, 257. (59) Rym. Fœd. tom. 8. p. 408.

(60) Id. ibid. p. 390. (61) T. Walsing. p. 374. Otterbourne, p. 258.

(62) Rym. Fœd. tom. 8. p. 412. (63) Otterbourne, p. 258.

A. D. 1405. fore Henry set out on his expedition into Wales, he granted the Isle of Man to Sir William Stanley, in whose posterity it still, in some respects, remains (54).

A. D. 1406.
Northum-
berland and
Bardolph
fly into
Wales.

Though the earl of Northumberland, and his friend the lord Bardolph, had been obliged to fly into Scotland, Henry still dreaded their influence and resentment, and ardently desired to have their persons in his possession. With this view, he proposed to several noblemen of Scotland, who had been his prisoners ever since the battles of Homildon and Shrewsbury, to grant them their liberty, if they would prevail upon their friends to seize and deliver up the two English exiles. These noblemen, weary of their long confinement, entered into his views, and communicated them to their friends, who undertook to accomplish what they desired. But this design having reached the ears of the lord Fleming, he imparted it to his noble guests, who made their escape into Wales, and joined Glendour, with whom they had kept up a constant correspondence (65).

Though all the schemes that had been formed for de-throning Henry had miscarried, the nation was still full of malcontents, who earnestly wished his fall. Reports were propagated from time to time, that king Richard was alive in Scotland, and would soon return to reclaim his crown; and these reports, however improbable, were believed by many (66). The remonstrances of parliament contained bitter complaints of his exactions and misgovernment. Sir John Tibetot, speaker of the house of commons, in a speech addressed to the throne, said—that the kingdom was impoverished by excessive impositions, and nothing done for its benefit—that ninety-six towns and castles were lost in Guienne, and the rest in danger—that Ireland was almost lost, though much money had been given for its defence—that the marches towards Scotland were in a bad condition—the rebellion in Wales still continued—the sea was ill guarded, and the merchants ruined—the expences of the household were excessive, and the court filled with a set of worthless rascals (67). Henry heard these angry speeches with

(64) Rym. Foed. tom. 8 p. 420. (65) T. Walsing. p. 375.

(66) Otterbourne, p. 261.

(67) Parliament. Hist. A. D. 1406.

perfect compofure, and purfued his own meafures : he A.D. 1406. had even the art to procure a large fupply from that very parliament.

The war againft Glendour was this year conducted by War in the prince of Wales, with fpirit, but with no great fuc- Wales. cefs. He compelled the garrifon in the ftrong caſtle of Aberſſwith to agree to furrender it againſt a certain day ; but before that day arrived, Glendour turned out that garrifon, and put another in its place (68).

To the calamities of intestine war, which had diſqui- A.D. 1407 eted England for feveral years, the miſeries of a deſtruc- Peftilence. tive peſtilence were now added. This plague raged with great violence in London, where it carried off 30,000 perſons ; and with greater violence in the country, where it extirpated whole families, and left many houſes empty (69).

As the plague was moſt deſtructive in and near Lon- The king don, the king and court removed from thence, and re- almost ſided ſome part of the ſummer at the caſtle of Leeds in taken by Kent. Deſiring to be at a greater diſtance from the pirates. capital, the king took ſhipping at Queenſborough in the Iſle of Sheppey, eſcorted by a ſmall ſquadron, com- manded by Thomas lord Camois. This little ſquadron was attacked at the mouth of the Thames by a fleet of French pirates, who took four of the ſhips, containing ſeveral perſons of rank, and much valuable furniture ; and the king eſcaped with great difficulty, by the ſwift ſailing of his ſhip. The lord Camois was tried by his peers in Weſtminſter-hall, for treachery or cowardice, and honourably acquitted (70).

The implacable animofity which had long reigned be- Murder of tween the dukes of Orleans and Burgundy, and which the duke of alone had prevented the loſs of all the poſſeſſions of the Orleans. Engliſh in France, came to a criſis this year, and ter- minated in the murder of the former, in the ſtreets of Paris, by aſſaſſins hired and inſtigated by the latter, who avowed and vindicated the atrocious deed (71). This threw the kingdom of France into the moſt deplorable diſorders, which continued many years, and brought it to the brink of ruin.

(68) Otterbourne, p. 261.

(69) T. Waſſing, p. 276.

(70) Hill, f. 26.

(71) Villar. Hiſtoire de France, tom. 12. p. 479, &c.

A. D. 1408.

Battle of
Bramham-
moor.

The earl of Northumberland and lord Bardolph, perceiving the affairs of Glendour on the decline, and having received some encouraging intelligence from the north, left Wales, and returned into Scotland, where they had many friends who pitied their misfortunes. Here they collected a little army, with which they entered England, and recovered some of the earl's castles in Northumberland. Encouraged by this success, and by a secret correspondence (as it is said) with Sir Thomas Rokeby, sheriff of Yorkshire, they advanced into that county, with a few attendants, in hopes that the whole country would join them. When they reached Thirsk, they set up their standard, and published a manifesto, enumerating Henry's crimes, and calling upon all who loved their country to come and assist them in dethroning the murderer of his sovereign and usurper of the crown. Being joined by several gentlemen and their followers, they marched forward, and passed the Wherfe at Weatherby. If Sir Thomas Rokeby ever corresponded with the two lords, it must have been only with an intention to ensnare them. For he had now collected a considerable army, with which he attended all their motions, and brought them to an action, February 19, on Bramham-moor near Haselwood, in which the earl of Northumberland was killed, and the lord Bardolph mortally wounded, and died in a few days after (72). The bodies of these two noblemen were dismembered, and their heads and limbs set up at London and other places (73).

Transac-
tions in the
north.

Henry was on his march northward, when he received the agreeable news of the victory at Bramham-moor, and the fall of his two most dangerous enemies. He arrived at Pomfret April 8, and resided there about a month, engaged in trying and punishing some of the unhappy persons who had been engaged in the late insurrection, and in collecting money, by compounding with others for their delinquency. Amongst those who were capitally punished, was the abbot of Hayles, because he had been taken in arms (74). Having, by a prudent mixture of mercy and severity, reduced the northern and most disaffected parts of the kingdom to submission, he returned to London.

(72) Otterbourne, p. 261, 262. T. Walsing. p. 377.

(73) *Id. ibid.*

(74) Otterbourne, p. 263.

The suppression of so many rebellions, with the ruin of those who had been concerned in them, at length dispirited Henry's enemies, and disposed them to submit to a government which they could not overturn. Glendour indeed was still unsubdued; but he was so much weakened by the destruction of his confederates and the desertion of his followers, that he was no longer dreaded. In the summer of this year, he made a last effort, by sending the greatest part of his followers, under the command of two of his bravest partizans, Rees Ap Du and Philpot Scudamore, to ravage Shropshire. This they executed with great ferocity; but they were at last defeated, many of them killed, their two leaders taken, conducted to London, and there executed. The Welsh, now despairing of being able to ascertain their independence, abandoned their new prince, and quietly submitted to the English government. Glendour skulked about the country several years, under several disguises, and at length died at his daughter's house, at Monington in Herefordshire, September 20, A. D. 1415.

A. D. 1409.
Reduction
of the
Welsh.

England and Wales being now reduced to a state of perfect submission and tranquillity, Henry had leisure to turn his attention to his foreign dominions, which he had hitherto been obliged, in a great measure, to neglect. Fortunately for him, the distractions of the French, which had been even greater than those of the English, had prevented them from taking advantage of this neglect. The divisions and party-rage of the French were greatly inflamed by the murder of the duke of Orleans; and at length broke out into a cruel and bloody civil war, between the duke of Burgundy and his party, on one side, and the young duke of Orleans, his father-in-law, the earl of Armagnac, and their partizans, on the other. Though a truce then subsisted between England and France, both parties earnestly solicited Henry's friendship and assistance; and he sent the earl of Arundel, with 800 men at arms, and 1000 archers, to the duke of Burgundy, who, with the aid of these succours, got possession of Paris, A. D. 1411 (75). The Armagnacs (as they were called), dreading the consequences of this connection between their enemies and the king of Eng-

A. D. 1410.
to
A. D. 1413,
Transac-
tion is on
the conti-
nent,

A.D. 1410^{to} land, entered into a negotiation with Henry, offering him the restitution of all that he had lost in Guienne, and other advantages, for his assistance (76). Tempted by these offers, or perhaps with a view to prolong the civil war, he concluded a treaty with that party, May 18, A.D. 1412, and engaged to send them an aid of 1000 men at arms, and 3000 archers (77). Henry seems to have had some intention to conduct and command these troops in person; but being prevented by sickness, or some other cause, he appointed his second son, Thomas of Lancaster, now created duke of Clarence, their general (78). In the mean time, the king of France, the unhappy Charles VI. having recovered from one of those fits of frenzy with which he was frequently seized, was so much enraged at the Armagnacs, for their design of introducing so great a body of English troops into the kingdom, that he joined the duke of Burgundy, and besieged the duke of Berry, one of the chiefs of that party, in Bourges. While the assailants pushed the siege with great vigour, and the besieged defended themselves with great valour, they both suffered extremely, by the sword, famine, and diseases; at the same time, they were both anxious about the English, the one dreading that they would arrive too soon, and the other that they would arrive too late. These circumstances first gave rise to wishes, and then to proposals, of peace; of which both parties being equally desirous, it was soon concluded. By one article of this treaty, both parties renounced all their alliances and connections with the English (79).

Expedition
into
France.

About the time this treaty was concluded, the duke of Clarence, with a considerable army, landed at La Hogue in Normandy, to the assistance of the Armagnacs. For some days the English army behaved in a quiet and orderly manner; but when they heard of the pacification of Bourges, they gave loose reins to their fury, and spread ruin and desolation wherever they appeared. After they had done much mischief and collected much booty, they were prevailed upon to desist from hostilities, and retire

(76) Rym. Fœd. t. 8. p. 715, 716. 718.

(77) Id. ibid. p. 738.

(78) Id. ibid. p. 733. 745.

(79) Histoire de la France, par V. Maf, t. 13. p. 212. 213.

into Guienne, by a promise of 320,000 crowns; for the ^{A.D. 1413.} payment of which the duke of Orleans gave his brother and some other noblemen hostages (80).

This was the last important transaction in the reign of ^{Death of} Henry IV. Though that prince was still in the prime of life, he had for some time been in a precarious state of health, afflicted with frequent fits, which deprived him of all sensation, and seemed to threaten him with immediate death. He was seized with one of those fits as he was at his devotion in St. Edward's chapel, Westminster; and being carried into the abbot's lodgings, he there expired, March 20, A. D. 1413, in the ^{Henry IV.} forty-sixth year of his age, and the fourteenth of his reign (81).

Few princes ever sat more uneasy on a throne than ^{His unhappiness.} Henry IV. In the first eight years of his reign he was harassed with almost incessant plots and insurrections; and though he enjoyed more external tranquillity in the latter part of it, he was not more happy, possessing neither health of body nor peace of mind. The great qualities of his eldest son, which ought to have given him joy, filled him with jealousy and suspicion; and the frolicsome, disorderly conduct of that prince, when he was excluded from business, gave him no less vexation. He was much disquieted with remorse for those crimes which paved his way to the throne; nor was he without other causes of chagrin. In a word, few of his subjects had reason to envy the happiness of their sovereign.

Henry IV. was, in stature, a little below the middle ^{His character.} size, but robust and well made. He excelled in all the martial and manly exercises of his times; and his courage was at once calm and undaunted. His head was better than his heart; his schemes being formed with prudence, and generally successful, but not always innocent, and seldom generous. As jealous as he was fond of power, he stuck at nothing to obtain and keep it; and was not very prone to pardon those who attempted to deprive him of it. From policy more than principle, he protected the church and persecuted heretics. Ambition was his ruling passion; and that, im-

(80) T. Walsing. p. 382. Otterbourne, p. 271, 272.

(81) T. Walsing. p. 382. Otterbourne, p. 271, 272.

A.D. 1413. pelled by a violent gale of popular favour, hurried him into a throne, which involved him in many crimes and cares, and his country in many calamities. He would have been both a better and happier man, if he had never been a king. Henry, by his first wife, Mary de Bohun, one of the coheireffes of Humphry de Bohun, earl of Hereford, had four sons and two daughters, viz. Henry, who succeeded him in the throne, Thomas, duke of Clarence, John, duke of Bedford, Humphry, duke of Gloucester, Blanche, duchess of Bavaria, and Philippa, queen of Denmark. By his second wife, Jane, duchess of Britanny, he had no issue,

S E C T I O N II.

From the accession of Henry V. A. D. 1413, to the accession of Henry VI. A. D. 1422.

Henry V.
Crowned.

HENRY V. was proclaimed, at London, March 21, and crowned at Westminster, April 9, A. D. 1413; and whatever objections might have been made to his title, no prince ever mounted a throne more peaceably, and few with greater applause (1). His father, Henry IV. had lost all his popularity long before his death, which made the news of that event, and of his son's succession, to be received with joy.

His youthful
troubles.

The joy of the people of England on this occasion would have been more complete, if they had not entertained some suspicions concerning the character of their new king. That prince, in a very early period of life, had given proofs that he was possessed of a very good understanding, great courage, activity, generosity, and other virtues, which made him the object of the people's love and of his father's jealousy; but for four or five years before his accession, having no opportunity of exercising his military talents in the field, and being quite excluded from the cabinet, his vivacity, and other youthful passions, betrayed him into a disorderly course

(1) Rym. Ford. tom. 9. p. 1. ; T. Walling. p. 382.

of life. Many of his irregularities were the mere effects of wit and gaiety of heart, and occasioned only laughter; but some of them wore a more unfavourable aspect, being direct violations of the law, and insults on its most respectable ministers. For disorders of this nature, it is said, he was twice put under confinement, first by Sir W. Gascoigne, chief justice of England, and afterwards by John Hornsby, mayor of Coventry. But even these last were the effects of wantonness rather than of malice; and he submitted to the correction which they brought upon him in a manner which did him honour (2).

A. D. 1413.

The fears of the people of England concerning the character of their king were soon dispelled. The moment Henry V. ascended the throne, he became (to use the words of the contemporary historians) a new man. Determined to change his course of life, he dismissed the licentious companions of his former riots, with marks of his bounty, but with strict commands never to approach his person, till they had given sufficient evidence of their amendment (3). He sought out, honoured, and employed men of virtue and abilities; and none met with so favourable a reception from him as the chief justice, who had committed him to prison, and others who had offended him, by the faithful discharge of their duty in his father's reign. Remembering the kindness with which he had been treated by the unhappy Richard II. in whose court he had been educated, he removed the body of that prince, with great funeral pomp, from Langley to Westminster (4). The earl of March, who had been kept in a kind of confinement during the late reign, was set at liberty, and treated with an unsuspicious frankness, which effectually gained his heart. Commiserating the fallen fortunes of the noble family of Northumberland, which had long been the bulwark of the northern borders, he procured the deliverance of the young heir of that family from his captivity in Scotland, and restored him to the estates and honours of his

His change
of conduct.

(2) Thom. de Elmham, *Vita Henrici V.* Oxon. A. D. 1727, p. 12.; Hall, f. 1.; Append. ad *Forduni Scotichron.* p. 144.

(3) T. Walsing. p. 382. Hall, f. 1. Hen. V.

(4) Id. f. 2. Stow, p. 345.

A. D. 1413. ancestors (5). In a word, Henry V. on his accession to the throne, displayed all the virtues of a great and good king, except that of respecting the rights of conscience in matters of religion; which was not believed to be a virtue in the age in which he flourished.

Condemnation of
lord Cobham.

The cruel intolerant spirit of the church of Rome, to which all the Christian world was then enslaved, excited the first disturbances in this reign. The disciples of Wickliff, who were called *Lollards*, had been cruelly persecuted, but still increased; and were now become so formidable, that they threatened the clergy with a diminution of their power and opulence. To prevent this, Arundel, archbishop of Canterbury, determined to crush that dreaded and detested sect, by inflicting capital punishments on its most considerable members. With this view he obtained permission from the king to prosecute Sir John Oldcastle, lord Cobham, for heresy; who being apprehended and tried, was sweetly and modestly (words used in the record) condemned, October 10, by the archbishop, to be burnt alive; and delivered to the secular arm for that purpose (6). But he had the good fortune to make his escape out of the Tower before the day appointed for his execution, and fled into Wales, where he concealed himself more than four years (7).

A. D. 1414.
Commo-
tion of lord
Cobham
and the
Lollards.

It is highly probable that lord Cobham was much exasperated against the clergy for having doomed him to such a painful death, and that he was not a little displeased with the king (whose favour he had merited by his services) for having abandoned him to the will of his enemies; but it may be justly doubted, whether he carried his resentment so far as to form the criminal and cruel schemes imputed to him by the clergy, and believed by the king. These schemes are said to have been, to surprise the king at Eltham, where he kept his Christmas, and to put him, his three brothers, and all the principal clergy of the kingdom, to death (8). All we know with certainty is, that a considerable number of Lollards assembled in St. Giles's fields, in the night of January 6, A. D. 1414; that they were there surprised by the king, who had received intelligence of their meet-

(5) Holingshed, p. 545.

(6) Rym. Fæd. tom. 9. p. 61—66.

(7) Bale, fol. 43.

(8) Elmham, p. 30. Tit. Livii, p. 6, 7; T. Walling. p. 385, 386.

ing ; that some of them were taken and executed ; and that a proclamation was issued, January 9, promising a reward of 1000 marks to any one who should apprehend Sir John Oldcastle, lord Cobham (9). In that proclamation, the procurement of the assembly in St. Giles's fields, and the intention of killing the king, are imputed to lord Cobham ; but with what justice it is impossible to determine. It is not known whether he was in that assembly or not : if he was in it, he made his escape ; for he was not apprehended till about four years after, when he was hanged as a traitor, and afterwards burnt as a heretic (10).

France was at this time a scene of the most deplorable disorder. The unhappy Charles VI. seldom enjoying so much reason as to be fit for government, the kingdom was torn in pieces by the two furious factions of Burgundy and Orleans ; private wars were carried on between the nobility of the different parties in every province ; towns were taken and reduced to ashes ; the open country desolated by fire and sword ; and the one half of the nation seemed determined to exterminate the other (11). These circumstances, it is probable, encouraged Henry V. to think of claiming the crown of France, and attempting the conquest of that kingdom.

This claim, it must be confessed, was not very well founded on any supposition. If the French doctrine of succession prevailed, viz. That a female could neither inherit the crown of France, nor transmit a title to it to her male posterity, Henry had no shadow of right ; if the English doctrine advanced by Edward III. prevailed, viz. That though a female could not inherit the crown of France, she could transmit a title to it to her male posterity ; still Henry had no right, because this kind of right was evidently in the earl of March, transmitted from queen Isabella to her son Edward III. and from him to the earl of March, by Philippa, only child of Lionel duke of Clarence, the elder brother of John duke of Lancaster, from whom Henry derived all his rights. But the princes of the house of Lancaster, when they had usurped the throne of England from the family of March, seem to have considered that family as extinct, and all its rights transferred to them ;

(9) Id. *ibid.* Rym. Fœd. t. 9. p. 89.

(10) Walsing. Ypod. Neust. p. 591.

(11) Histoire de France, par Villar. tom. 13. p. 299—336.

A. D. 1414. and it may be observed in general, that ambitious princes are not the most scrupulous casuists when a crown is in question, and seems to be within their reach.

Prepara-
tions for
war.

Though Henry had certainly formed the design of invading France soon after his accession; he artfully concealed that design as long as possible from those he intended to invade. With this view he fought the princess Katharine, the youngest daughter of the king of France, in marriage, with great seeming earnestness, and carried on constant negotiations for a long truce or a perpetual peace. But he took effectual care that these negotiations should not succeed, by rising in his demands as the French advanced in their concessions (12). In the mean time he was eagerly engaged in making preparations of all kinds for his intended expedition (13). A parliament, which met this year, granted him two tenths and two fifteenths, besides the lands of all the alien priories in England, to the number of 110, and he received a valuable free gift from all the clergy (14). He borrowed from all who could be prevailed upon to lend, pawning his jewels, and even his crown, to procure money (15). With much diligence he collected troops, arms, provisions, ships, and every thing necessary (16).

A. D. 1415.

Conspiracy.

When all things were ready at Southampton, July 28, Henry threw off the mask, by rejecting all the offers of the French ambassadors, and putting an end to negotiation. While the troops were embarking, a surprising discovery was made of a conspiracy against the king, by some of his nearest relations and greatest favourites; particularly Richard earl of Cambridge, son to the duke of York, Henry lord Scrope of Masham, treasurer and chief confidant of his royal master, and Sir Thomas Grey of Heton, in Northumberland. The design of the conspirators, according to the confession of the earl of Cambridge, was to carry the earl of March, whose sister he had married, into Wales, and there proclaim him king, in hopes that the people of those parts would

(12) Rym. Fœd. tom. 9. p. 88—261.

(13) Id. ibid. p. 261. Elmham, ch. 15. p. 29. T. Livii, p. 6. T. Walsing. p. 387.

(14) Parliament. Hist. vol. 2. p. 137, &c.

(15) Rym. Fœd. tom. 9. p. 257. 263. 271. 284, 285. 286.

(16) Id. ibid. p. 249—288. Elmham, c. 18. p. 34, 35, 36.

join his standard and support his cause (17). The three chief conspirators were tried in a very summary manner, condemned, and executed. The earl of March, to whom the project had been communicated, and who probably revealed it to the king, was pardoned (18). A. D. 1415.

Henry, having appointed his brother John duke of Bedford, regent of England, sailed from Southampton, 13th August, with a gallant army of 6000 men at arms, and 24,000 archers, and arrived next day on the coast of France, about nine miles from Harfleur, which he soon after invested. After a siege of about five weeks, that town surrendered, September 22, upon the following hard conditions, That thirty persons, to be named by Henry, should be delivered to him, to be treated as he pleased; and that the rest of the garrison and inhabitants should march out, and go where they pleased, leaving all their goods behind them to enrich the conquerors (19). Siege of Harfleur.

Though this was a valuable, it was not a cheap conquest; for the uncommon heat of the weather, the great fatigues of the siege, the uncautious eating of fruit, and other causes, produced an epidemic dysentery in the English army, of which several persons of rank, and about 2000 of the common soldiers, died; and far greater numbers were rendered incapable of service (20). This circumstance, and the advanced season of the year, made it improper to engage in any other military enterprise. Henry, therefore, repaired the fortifications of Harfleur, invited many English families to settle in it, by granting them the houses of the former inhabitants, and furnished it with a garrison of 2000 men, under the command of his uncle, the earl of Dorset, as governor, and of Sir John Fastolf, as lieutenant-governor; and then began to think of conducting the remainder of his troops back again to England. But the manner of accomplishing this was a question of no little difficulty; to determine which, the king called a council of all the great men of his army. The duke of Clarence, the Henry resolves to return to England.

(17) Rym. Fœd. t. 9. p. 300.

(18) Id. ibid. p. 303. Elmh. p. 36. Walsing. p. 389. Tit. Livii, p. 8.

(19) Tit. Livii, p. 11. Elmh. p. 47, 48.

(20) Elmh. p. 44.

A. D. 1415. king's eldest brother, proposed to embark the army at Harfleur, and sail directly from thence into England. But the king, thinking that would have the appearance of fear, and of shunning an engagement, declared boldly for marching by land to Calais; and that resolution was adopted (21). The duke of Clarence, the earls of March, Arundel, Marshal, and many others, who were indisposed, took their passage directly from Harfleur, which still further diminished the army (22).

State of
France.

The landing of so powerful an enemy as the king of England upon their coasts, did not extinguish the flames of faction among the French; for while that prince was besieging Harfleur, they were debating in council, whether they should intrust the protection of the kingdom to the duke of Burgundy or the duke of Orleans, believing that it was impossible for these two princes to co-operate. This question was at length determined in favour of the duke of Orleans and his party; which furnished his rival with a pretence for acting that part which he afterwards acted, and which brought so many calamities upon his country, and destruction upon himself (23). So slow were the preparations of the French, that when the siege of Harfleur had continued five weeks, and the English army was so much weakened, they had not a sufficient number of troops to attempt the relief of that place (24). The surrender of Harfleur seems to have roused them; for in about fourteen days after, they had collected an army of 100,000 men to intercept the English army in its march to Calais (25).

Dangerous
situation of
the English
army.

It is hardly possible to imagine any situation more dangerous than that of Henry V. and his army, at this time. That army was now reduced to 10,000 men, of whom not a few were sick, or slowly recovering from sickness; they had to traverse a long tract of country, inhabited by exasperated enemies, from whom they were to procure provisions, lodgings, guides, intelligence, and every thing they wanted;—that country was defended by many strong towns, intersected by deep rivers, and guarded

(21) Tit. Livii, p. 12. Elmham, c. 42. p. 49.

(22) Walsing. p. 391.

(23) Histoire de France, par. Villar. tom. 13. p. 350.

(24) Id. ibid. p. 346.

(25) Rym. Fœd. tom. 9. p. 314.

by an army of 100,000 or (according to some contemporary writers) 140,000 men (26). A. D. 1415.

Henry, undaunted by all these dangers and difficulties, departed from Harfleur, marching his army in three lines, with bodies of cavalry on the wings. He proceeded by very easy journeys, that he might not fatigue his troops, or discourage them by the appearance of a flight; observing the strictest discipline, and paying generously for every thing he received; which induced the country-people to bring provisions to his camp, in spite of all the commands they had received to the contrary. To keep his men in spirits, and from repining, the king fared as ill as the meanest foldier, always appearing with a cheerful countenance, and addressing them in the most friendly and encouraging language. When the English army reached the banks of the river Somme at Blanquitate, where Edward III. had passed before the battle of Cressy, and where they designed to pass, to their great mortification, they found the ford was rendered impracticable, by sharp stakes driven into the bottom; and saw a great army on the other side, ready to oppose their passage. This obliged them to march up the banks of that river, in quest of a place to pass it; which they fortunately found near Bethencourt, where the whole army got over, October 19, without opposition. Proceeding on their march, they arrived at the village of Agincourt, in the county of St. Pol, on the evening of October 24, and there beheld the whole French army, at a small distance, directly in their route (27). The king took an attentive view of it from an eminence, and was fully convinced, that it was impossible to proceed any further on his way to Calais without a battle, and equally impossible to return to Harfleur with so great an army in his rear. He therefore resolved to hazard an action next morning, as the only means of preserving himself and his little army from destruction (28). Some French writers indeed say, that he made an offer to give up his conquest of Harfleur, and to repair all the damages he had done for a free passage to Calais (29). But this is neither

Their
march from
Harfleur to
Agincourt.

(26) T. Walsing. p. 391.

(27) Elmham, c. 24, 25. p. 54—59. Tit. Livii, p. 12—15.
T. Walsing. p. 392.

(28) T. Walsing. p. 392.

(29) Labouruir, l. 34. c. 6. Villar. tom. 9. p. 358.

A. D. 1415. agreeable to the character of his courage nor his prudence; as such an offer would have dispirited his own men and encouraged his enemies; and he could not expect that it would be accepted.

How the
English
spent the
night before
the battle.

The English army lodged in the villages of Agincourt, Maisoncelle, and some others, on the night of the 24th of October, and met with better accommodation than they had been accustomed to for some time past, and spent part of their time in mutual exhortations to fight bravely in the approaching battle (30). The king, overhearing some of his nobles expressing a wish, that the many brave men who were idle in England were present to assist them, cried out—"No! I would not have one
"man more—if we are defeated, we are too many—
"if it shall please God to give us the victory, as I trust
"he will, the smaller our number the greater our
"glory (31)." The moon happening to shine very bright, Henry, with some of his best officers, carefully examined the ground, and pitched upon a field of battle, admirably calculated to preserve a small army from being surrounded by a great one. It was a gentle declivity from the village of Agincourt, of sufficient extent for his small army, defended on each side by hedges, trees, and brushwood. Having placed guards and kindled fires on all sides, the king and his army betook themselves to rest; except such as were of a more serious turn of mind, and, considering that as the last night of their lives, spent it in devotion (32).

How the
French
spent it.

The French, exulting in their numbers, confident of victory, and abounding in provisions, spent the night in noisy festivity, and in forming fanciful schemes about the disposal of their prisoners and their booty. It was in general resolved to put all the English to the sword, except the king and the chief nobility, who were to be taken prisoners for the sake of their ransoms (33).

Order of
Battle.

On the morning of Friday, the memorable 25th of October, A. D. 1415, the day of Crispin and Crispianus, the English and French armies were ranged in order of battle, each in three lines, with bodies of cavalry on

(30) Elmham, p. 59.

(31) Id. p. 61.

(32) Id. p. 59. Tit. Livii, p. 16. T. Walling. p. 392.

(33) Id. ibid. Hall, Hen. V. f. 16.

each wing The constable d'Albert, who commanded ^{A.D. 1415.} the French army, fell into the snare that was laid for him, by drawing up his army in the narrow plain between the two woods. This deprived him, in a great measure, of the advantage he should have derived from the prodigious superiority of his numbers; obliged him to make his lines unnecessarily deep, about thirty men in file; to crowd his troops, particularly his cavalry, so close together, that they could hardly move, or use their arms; and in a word, was the chief cause of all the disasters that followed (34). The French, it is said, had a considerable number of cannon of different sizes in the field; but we do not hear that they did any execution, probably for want of room (35). The first line of the French army, which consisted of 8000 men at arms on foot, mixed with 4000 archers, with 500 men at arms mounted on each wing, was commanded by the constable d'Albert, the dukes of Orleans and Bourbon, and many other nobles; the dukes of Alençon, Brabant, and Bar, &c. conducted the second line; and the earls of Marle, Damartine, Fauconberg, &c. were at the head of the third line (36). The king of England employed various arts to supply his defect of numbers. He placed 200 of his best archers, in ambush, in a low meadow, on the flank of the first line of the French (37). His own first line consisted wholly of archers, four in file; each of whom, besides his bow and arrows, had a battle-axe, a sword, and a stake pointed with iron at both ends, which he fixed before him in the ground, the point inclining outwards, to protect him from cavalry; which was a new invention, and had a happy effect (38). That he might not be incumbered, he dismissed all his prisoners, on their word of honour to surrender themselves at Calais, if he obtained the victory, and lodged all his baggage in the village of Agincourt, in his rear, under a slender guard (39). The command of the first line was, at his earnest request, committed to Edward, duke of York, assisted by the lords Beaumont, Willoughby, and Fan-

(34) Tit. Livii, p. 17. Elmham, c. 27.

(35) Id. p. 63. Tit. Livii, p. 17. Villar, tom. 9. p. 361.

(36) Id. p. 365. (37) Hall, Hen. V. f. 16.

(38) Id. ibid. Elmham, p. 65. (39) Id. p. 60.

A.D. 1415. hope; the second was conducted by the king, with his youngest brother Humphry, duke of Gloucester, the earls of Oxford, Marshal, and Suffolk; and the third was led by the duke of Exeter, the king's uncle (40). The lines being formed, the king, in shining armour, with a crown of gold, adorned with precious stones on his helmet, mounted on a fine white horse, rode along them, and addressed each corps with a cheerful countenance and animating speeches (41). To inflame their resentment against their enemies, he told them, that the French had determined to cut off three fingers of the right hand of every prisoner; and to rouse their love of honour, he declared, that every soldier in that army who behaved well, should from henceforth be deemed a gentleman, and intitled to bear coat-armour (42). The English archers, fired by the words and gestures of their king, and panting for action, stripped themselves almost naked, that they might deal their blows with the greater rapidity and vigour (43).

Battle of
Agincourt.

When the two armies were drawn up in this manner, they stood a considerable time gazing at one another in solemn silence. But the king, dreading that the French would discover the danger of their situation, and decline a battle, commanded the charge to be sounded, about ten of the clock in the forenoon. At that instant, the first line of the English kneeled down, and kissed the ground; and then starting up, discharged a flight of arrows, which did great execution among the crowded ranks of the French (44). Immediately after, upon a signal being given, the archers in ambush arose, and discharged their arrows on the flank of the French line, and threw it into some disorder (45). The battle now became general, and raged with uncommon fury. The English archers, having expended all their arrows, threw away their bows, and, rushing forward, made dreadful havoc with their swords and battle-axes (46). The first line of the enemy was by these means defeated; its leaders being either killed or taken prisoners. The second line, commanded by the

(40) Hall, Hen. V. f. 16.

(42) Elmham, p. 61. Villar, p. 364.

(44) T. Elmham, p. 65. 371.

(46) Id. ibid. f. 18.

(41) Elmham, p. 61.

(43) Id. p. 366.

(45) Hall, Hen. V. f. 17.

duke d'Alençon (who had made a vow either to kill or ^{A. D. 1415.} take the king of England, or to perish in the attempt), now advanced to the charge, and was encountered by the second line of the English, conducted by the king. This conflict was more close and furious than the former. The duke of Gloucester, wounded and unhorsed, was protected by his royal brother, till he was carried off the field (47). The duke d'Alençon forced his way to the king, and assaulted him with great fury; but that prince brought him to the ground, where he was instantly dispatched (48). Discouraged by this disaster, the second line made no more resistance; and the third fled without striking a blow; yielding a complete and glorious victory to the English, after a violent struggle of three hours duration (49).

The king did not permit his men to pursue the fugitives to a great distance, but encouraged them to take as many prisoners as they could on or near the field; in which they were so successful, that, in a little time, his captives were more numerous than his soldiers (50). A great proportion of these prisoners were men of rank and fortune; for many of the French noblesse being on foot, and loaded with their heavy armour, could not make their escape. Among these were, the dukes of Orleans and Bourbon, the marshal Boucicaut, the counts d'Eu, Vendome, Richemont, and Harcourt, and 7000 barons, knights, and gentlemen (51). The French left dead on the field of battle, the constable d'Albert, the three dukes of Alençon, Brabant, and Bar, the archbishop of Sens, one marshal, thirteen earls, ninety-two barons, 1500 knights, and a far greater number of gentlemen, besides several thousands of common soldiers (52). Even the French historians acknowledge, that the loss of the English was inconsiderable; and those of our own contemporary writers who make it the greatest, affirm that it did not exceed a hundred;

(47) Elmham, p. 67. Tit. Liv. p. 20.

(48) Hall, f. 18.

(49) T. Walsing. p. 393. Tit. Liv. p. 20. Thomas de Elmham's description of this battle is so curious a piece of bombast, that I have given it in Appendix, No 1.

(50) Tit. Liv. p. 20.

(51) T. Otterbourne, p. 277.

(52) T. Otterbourne, p. 277. T. Elmham, p. 68. Villar, t. 13. p.

A.D. 1415. and that the duke of York and the earl of Suffolk were the only great men who fell on that side in this memorable action (53). So astonishing, on some occasions, are the events of war, and so fatal the errors of those to whom the conduct of armies is committed ! for to the gross errors committed by the constable d'Albert, as much as to the wise measures of Henry, and the heroic valour of the English, the disgrace and ruin of the French army may be imputed.

Henry's reception into England.

The advanced season of the year, with the want of a sufficient number of men, prevented Henry from making any other use of his great victory, than to pursue his march to Calais, with his spoils and prisoners (54). Having there rested and refreshed his troops, he embarked for England, November 16, with his principal prisoners, and arrived at Dover that same evening ; where he was received with transports of joy, many of the people plunging into the sea to meet his barge (55). At his triumphant entry into London, November 23, the shows and pageants exhibited by the citizens (says a contemporary writer) were so numerous, that it would have required a volume to describe them (56). One of the most valuable proofs they gave him of their good will was, a present of 1000*l.* in two gold basons, each worth 500*l.* (57).

A.D. 1416.
Alliance with the duke of Burgundy.

The lamentations in France were as loud as the acclamations in England, there being few families in it who did not mourn the loss of some relations who had fallen in the fatal battle of Agincourt. The distractions which reigned in the court and councils of that kingdom after that battle can hardly be described. The exclusion of the duke of Burgundy from all share in the government, by the prevailing faction of the Armagnacs, had disgusted him so much, that he had engaged in secret negotiations with the king of England. The defeat at Agincourt, the death of his son-in-law, the dauphin Lewis, which happened about six weeks after, and, above all, the exaltation of his most inveterate enemy,

(53) T. Elmham, p. 69.

(55) Elmham, p. 71.

(57) Stow, p. 351.

(54) *I. l.* *ibid.*

(56) T. Walling, p. 393.

the count d'Armagnac, to the office of constable, and the chief direction of all affairs, accelerated these negotiations, which terminated in a treaty of alliance, in which the duke acknowledged Henry to be king of France, and engaged to assist him with all his forces, to obtain the possession of that kingdom (58). This alliance with so powerful a prince of the blood of France, who had so numerous a party in that distracted kingdom, gave Henry a very probable prospect of success in his designs.

The emperor Sigismund, who had visited the courts of Arragon and France, to engage them to concur in putting an end to the schism in the church, arrived in England in April this year, with similar views (59). While he continued there, he attempted to mediate a peace between France and England; but without success (60). As Henry, however, was not prepared for the formidable invasion which he intended, he agreed to a truce from October 9, A. D. 1416, to February 2, 1417 (61).

While the king of England was forming alliances, collecting money, raising troops, and making every possible preparation for invading France, those who conducted the affairs of that kingdom were doing every thing that could contribute to their own and to their country's ruin. The constable d'Armagnac in reality possessed all the power of the crown; and he employed that power to the most pernicious purposes. His reigning passion was hatred to the duke of Burgundy and his party; and being naturally of a fierce imperious spirit, he persecuted all who were suspected of attachment to that party with the most unrelenting cruelty. This rendered the wounds of faction incurable, and produced much disorder, discord, and distress, in all parts of the kingdom; and particularly in the capital, where the Burgundian had many friends, who had formed a plot to massacre the king and all his family, the constable, and all the principal persons of his party. The same discord which raged in all other parts of the kingdom reigned in the

(58) Rym. Fœd. t. 9. p. 304. 328. 354. 364. 374. 390. 395, &c.

(59) T. Elmham, c. 31. p. 73.

(60) Id. ibid,

(61) Rym. Fœd. t. 9. p. 398.

A. D. 1416. royal family. The queen, excluded from any share in the management of affairs by the constable, retired to Vincennes, where she kept a most licentious and luxurious court. This gave the constable an opportunity of seizing all her treasures, which were very great, and of inflaming the jealousy of the king to such a pitch, that he sent her under a guard to Tours, and commanded her favourite Louis Bourdon to be put up in a sack, and thrown into the Seine. These cruel injuries inspired that princess with the most implacable resentment against the constable and all his party; not excepting her own son Charles, now become dauphin by the death of his two elder brothers (62). In a word, all the furies seemed to have taken up their residence in France, and to have conspired the destruction of that kingdom.

A. D. 1417. Such was the state of France when Henry V. landed, August 1, A. D. 1417, near Touques in Normandy, with a gallant army of 16,000 men at arms and archers, some thousands of pikemen and other troops, with many miners, masons, carpenters, a great train of artillery and other engines, from a fleet of 1500 ships (63). When he had disembarked his troops, he published some excellent regulations for the preservation of discipline, and protection of the clergy, of wives, widows, and maidens, from all insults (64). It is unnecessary to attend this victorious prince, step by step, in his triumphant march, or enumerate all the places that submitted to his arms. There was no army to oppose him in the field; most of the towns were ill fortified, and worse garrisoned; and, expecting no relief, surrendered as soon as they were summoned. His proceeding appeared more like the progress of a prince in his own dominions, than the march of an invader in an enemy's country; and all the lower Normandy was reduced in this campaign.

Proceedings of the duke of Burgundy. At the same time, the progress of his ally, the duke of Burgundy, was no less rapid. That prince, care-

(62) Villar, tom. 13. p. 410—426.

(63) Tit. Liv. p. 31, 32, 33. T. Elmhurst, p. 92, 96, 97. Otterbourne, p. 278.

(64) T. Walsing. p. 397.

fully concealing his connection with the king of Eng-^{A. D. 1417-}land, pretended to carry on the war against the Armagnacs, who, he declared, were enemies to the state, and held the king and royal family in durance. Besides a powerful army, with which he advanced towards the capital, where the court resided, he had many friends and emissaries in all parts of the kingdom, who prevailed upon many great men to embrace his party, and on many towns to open their gates to his troops. On his march, he received a message from the queen (who had long been the most violent of all his enemies, for the murder of her favourite the duke of Orleans), entreating him to relieve her from her confinement, and promising to promote all his views. Sensible of the advantage of having that bold and active prince in his party, or rather in his possession, he flew to her rescue, at the head of 800 horse, surprised her keepers, and conducted her to Chartres. There she issued a proclamation, declaring her right to be regent of the kingdom during the incapacity of the king, her husband; and immediately entered on the exercise of that right, by constituting a new parliament, appointing a constable, chancellor, and other officers of state, &c. Thus the two parties which had so long torn France in pieces, were more regularly formed than ever; the Armagnacs acting under the authority of the dauphin, and the Burgundians under the authority of the queen. Both these parties negotiated with the king of England, and with one another, but without either sincerity or success; and the war between them was carried on with the greatest inveteracy (65).

While one half the people of France were attempting ^{A. D. 1418.} to subdue the other, the king of England proceeded ^{Military operations of the English.} with great rapidity in subduing both. Having received a reinforcement of 15,000 men from England, he gave the command of separate bodies of troops to his two brothers the dukes of Clarence and Gloucester, with which they reduced many strong places (66). In the spring and summer of this year, all Normandy, except Cherbourg and Rouen, submitted to the arms of Eng-

(65) Villar, tom. 13. p. 439, &c.

(66) T. Elmham, c. 55, 56, 57, 58. Walsing. p. 400, Tit. Liv. p. 40—51.

A. D. 1418. land^s; and the duke of Gloucester besieged the former, while the king invested the latter, July 29. Cherbourg, after a long and obstinate resistance, surrendered, September 29: but the king, finding that he could not take Rouen (which was defended by 19,000 men) by force, without too great an expence of blood, converted the siege into a blockade, in order to reduce it by famine.

Wife policy of Henry. Henry, as wise as he was brave, employed policy as well as power to promote the success of his enterprize. By a proclamation, he promised protection, and the peaceable enjoyment of all their goods and privileges, to all who submitted to his authority, and appointed commissioners in every district to receive the submissions of the people (67). He abolished the gabelle, and diminished the tax on salt, and some other taxes (68). He maintained the most perfect discipline among his troops, and suffered none of his soldiers to insult or injure the peaceable inhabitants. To all who approached his person, he behaved with the most winning affability, hearing their complaints with patience, and redressing their wrongs with justice. By these wise measures, he subdued the hearts of the people of Normandy, who crowded to pay their submission to so great and good a prince.

Massacre of Paris. While Henry was thus successfully employed in asserting his claim to the crown of France, the two parties in that kingdom were too keenly engaged in destroying one another to give him any interruption. The constable d'Armagnac, having discovered a plot to betray Paris to the duke of Burgundy, made the scaffolds stream with blood, and meditated a massacre of all the Burgundian party in the capital. This severity only served to render him more odious, and to hasten his own destruction. Perrinet le Clerk admitted L'Isle Adam, a captain of the duke of Burgundy, with 800 men at arms, into Paris on the night of May 29. This troop marched in profound silence to the Chatelet, where they were joined by 500 citizens who were in the plot. They then divided into different bodies, went to the houses of the mi-

(67) Rym. Fœd. tom. 9. p. 573.

(68) Id. ibid. p. 583.

nisters of state, and other obnoxious persons, seized ^{A. D. 1418.} them, and threw them into prison. Tanneguy de Chastel, provost of Paris, saved the dauphin, by rushing into his chamber on the first alarm, taking him out of bed, and carrying him in his arms to the Bastile, from whence he escaped to Melun. The constable, who was the chief object of their indignation, eluded their most eager searches for some time: but was at length discovered by a mason, in whose house he had taken shelter, and conducted to prison. Next morning the populace of Paris, instigated by the friends of the duke of Burgundy, began the most horrid outrages, insulting, plundering, and imprisoning all to whom they gave the name of Armagnacs; and these outrages continued till all the prisons were filled, and a great part of the city destroyed. But the most bloody scene of this tragedy was still to come. As soon as the queen and duke of Burgundy, who were then at Troyes, heard of this revolution, they sent intimations to their confidential friends, that it would be proper to put all the Armagnacs to death. When they received this cruel intimation, they circulated reports, that the Armagnacs were about to enter the city by surprise, to release the constable and other prisoners, and murder all the Burgundians. Enraged to madness by these reports, the populace, June 12, broke into the prisons, and butchered the guards and prisoners without distinction. In the first three days of this massacre, besides the constable, chancellor, and six bishops, 3500 persons, many of them eminent for their rank and character, were put to death. After the triumphant entry of the queen and duke, while the streets were stained with blood, the massacre was renewed, and about 14,000 persons (of which 5000 were women) slain (69). How dangerous a passion is party-rage, which sometimes corrupts the best hearts, blinds the best understandings, and endangers the most powerful states!

The two parties in France were so far from giving any ^{Negotia-} interruption to Henry while he was engaged in the siege ^{tions.} of Rouen, that both courted his protection, and each endeavoured to make him more tempting offers than the other. He negotiated with both, without suspending or

(69) Villar, t. 13. p. 461—475. T. Walsing. p. 400.

A. D. 1418. relaxing his military operations for one moment (70).
 A truce was concluded with the young earl of Armagnac, the earl of Dreux, and other French barons, who harassed his subjects in Guienne; which restored tranquillity to his dominions in those parts (71). A curious detail of the negotiations with the dauphin, which hath been published, proves, that Henry was as great a politician as a general, and that it was as difficult to deceive him in the cabinet as to defeat him in the field (72). Both these, and the negotiations with the other party, which were carried on at the same time, proved abortive; and it was probably never intended that they should have any success.

A. D. 1419. While Henry amused both the parties of the French with these negotiations, he carried on the siege of Rouen, secure from any interruption. That great and beautiful city, which contained about 200,000 inhabitants, was bravely defended by its citizens, who would probably have rendered all the efforts of the English ineffectual, if they had not been assaulted by an enemy whose attacks are irresistible. Sufficient stores of provisions had not been laid up for so great a multitude; and before the end of October 1418, their magazines were nearly exhausted. They subsisted for some time on a scanty allowance of horse-flesh, till all their horses were consumed. They then fed on dogs, cats, rats, and mice, which sold at so high a price, that they could only be procured by the rich. About 50,000 persons died of hunger, or of diseases contracted by the use of unwholesome food. During all that time they were cruelly tantalised by the duke of Burgundy, with promises of relief, which he never intended, or at least never attempted to perform. At length, unable to subsist, and despairing of relief, they proposed to capitulate. Henry, irritated at their obstinate resistance, insisted on their surrendering at discretion; which they refused. Informed by Boutcullur the governor, with whom he held a private correspondence, that they had resolved to set their city on fire in all quarters, and then to rush out, and either to cut their way, or perish with their arms in their hands, he granted them

(70) Rym. Fœd. t. 9. p. 628—655.

(71) Id. *ibid.* p. 602.

(72) Rym. Fœd. tom. 9. p. 632—646.

more moderate terms. The capitulation was concluded ^{A.D. 1419.} January 13, A. D. 1419, by which the town and castle, with all ammunition and implements of war, were to be surrendered to the king of England on the 19th of that month; the garrison to take an oath not to serve against him for one year; the citizens to pay a ransom of 30,000 crowns, and, upon taking an oath of fealty, to enjoy all their property and privileges. The surrender of Rouen was followed by that of all the other places of strength in Normandy (73).

The loss of Normandy greatly alarmed both the parties of the French; and such of them as were not blinded by party-rage, earnestly laboured to bring about a reconciliation between the dauphin and the duke of Burgundy, as the only means of saving their country. The duke secretly wished for this; but his advances not meeting with suitable returns, he renewed his negotiations with the king of England. To render these negotiations more solemn and effectual, and probably with a view on the part of the duke to give the greater alarm to the dauphin, and to make him more tractable, it was agreed, April 7, that the king of England should have a personal interview with the king and queen of France, the princess Katharine, and the duke of Burgundy, on May 15, between Mante and Pontoyes (74). This interview did not happen till May 30, when all these illustrious personages (except the king of France, who was indisposed) met for the first time, in a magnificent tent, at a place called *La Chat* (75). The queen of France did not neglect to conduct her beautiful daughter, the princess Katharine, to this interview, and carefully watching the eyes of the king of England, observed with joy, that he was captivated by her charms. An adept in all the arts of amorous intrigue, she secreted the princess from his sight for several days, in order to inflame his passion. But Henry courted as a conqueror, and despised these little arts. “I will have your princess (said he to the duke of Burgundy) “on my own terms, or I will drive both your “king and you out of the kingdom.” “Sir (replied

Interview
of Henry
with the
French
court.

(73) Rym. Fœd. tom. 9. p. 664, 674, 677, 678, 679. 682, 683, &c.
T. Elmham, cap. 70, 71.

(74) Elmham, p. 717—727.

(75) Id. p. 752.

A.D. 1419^{the duke}), “ it will fatigue you very much to drive us
 “ both out (76).” The duke, disgusted at the haughtiness of Henry, and the exorbitancy of his demands, protracted the negotiation, in hopes that the dauphin would make advances to him for an accommodation. These hopes were at length gratified. The dauphin, dreading the consequences of this interview between his two most powerful enemies, sent a trusty agent to Pontoyes to propose a reconciliation to the duke; which, being equally desired by both parties, was soon concluded. The duke then broke off the conferences with the king of England, June 30, and had an interview with the dauphin at Poilly-le-Fort, in which these princes gave each other every possible mark of the most perfect amity, and ratified their reconciliation by the most sacred rites of religion (77). The reconciliation of these two princes was celebrated by illuminations, and other demonstrations of joy, in all the towns of France.

Perplexed
 situation of
 Henry.

Henry, thus deluded by the duke of Burgundy, found himself in a very disagreeable situation. His hopes of success were chiefly founded on the animosity of the French parties, which he believed to be implacable; and he now saw them united when he least expected it. He had only about 25,000 men to preserve his conquest of Normandy, and make head against all the forces of a mighty kingdom. The kings of Castile and Arragon were arming in favour of the dauphin, and the Scots had embraced the same party (78). His treasury, and even his credit, was exhausted; his own subjects discontented at the expence of the war, and beginning to apprehend that the conquest of France would be the ruin of England.

Assassina-
 tion of the
 duke of
 Burgundy.

Undaunted by all these difficulties, Henry resolved to prosecute the war with vigour; probably imagining that so sudden a coalition between such inveterate enemies could not be of long duration. However this may be, an event soon happened, which relieved him from all his difficulties, and gave him a fairer prospect than ever of obtaining the crown of France. That was the assassination of the duke

(76) Villar, tom. 14. p. 33.

(77) Villar, t. 14. p. 35. Elmham, esp. 78.

(78) Rym. Fœd. tom. 9. p. 794.

of Burgundy, September 10, on the bridge of Montreux, by the attendants of the dauphin, as he was engaged in a conference with that prince (79). What prompted the dauphin, or rather his counsellors, to this rash and criminal action, is not certainly known; but it involved his country in many and great calamities.

As soon as the news of this assassination reached Paris, where the late duke had always been exceedingly popular, the whole city was in a tumult; and the citizens of all ranks expressed the most violent resentment against the dauphin and his adherents; and the other cities of France, of the Burgundian party, imitated the example of the capital. The court of France, which then resided at Troyes, was affected in the same manner, and a declaration of war was denounced against the dauphin, at the instigation of the queen, the implacable enemy of her son. Nothing could equal the fury of Philip duke of Charolois, now duke of Burgundy, when he heard of his father's murder. The desire of revenge took possession of his whole soul, and rendered him blind to every other consideration. All these enemies of the dauphin turned their eyes to the king of England, determined to deny him nothing to engage him to assist them in gratifying their revenge (80).

In consequence of these dispositions, conferences were held at Arras by the ministers of France and England, and the duke of Burgundy; and the most important articles of a treaty of peace between these princes were settled December 2, *viz.* That Henry should marry the princess Katharine, without any expence to her parents or the kingdom: that king Charles should enjoy the crown of France, with all its powers and revenues, during life, and his queen Isabella all the privileges of her rank; that Henry should be regent of France during the incapacity of Charles for government, and succeed to the crown at his death (81). A general truce between the kings of France and England, with separate treaties between each of these kings and the duke of Burgundy, for assisting him in avenging the murder of his father, were concluded at the same time and place (82).

(79) Villar, t. 14. p. 44. T. Elmham, c. 83.

(80) Villar, t. 14. p. 55—61. (81) Rym. Fœd. tom. 9. p. 816.

(82) Id. *ibid.* p. 818—829. 849.

A. D. 1420. Though the most important articles of this confederacy were settled by the treaties of Arras, many particulars still remained to be adjusted; and on these the ministers of the contracting powers laboured during the four first months of the year 1420. At length, when all things were ready, Henry marched at the head of an army of 16,000 men from Pontoyes to Troyes, where the court of France then resided. There, May 21, the large and definitive treaty of peace, consisting of thirty-one articles, was signed, sealed, and sworn to by the king of England, in his own name, and by the queen of France and duke of Burgundy, by commission from and in name of Charles VI. king of France (83). Copies of this famous treaty were sent into England, and published in London, and all the other cities and towns of the kingdom, with every possible demonstration of joy (84). It was proclaimed in Paris, and all the other cities of France, of the Burgundian party, with equal solemnity and joy (85). In a word, no treaty ever occasioned greater joy when it was made, or produced greater calamities in the end. So short-sighted is human policy, and so little do nations, as well as individuals, know of the distant consequences of events!

Henry's marriage. King Henry and the princess Katharine were affianced on the same day, May 21, and their nuptials were solemnized on Trinity Sunday, May 30, with great pomp (86).

Military operations. Henry, willing to prosecute his good fortune, and reduce the dauphin and his party (commonly called the *Armagnacs*) while they were unpopular, on the third day after his marriage invested the city of Sens, which surrendered in a few days (87). On the 13th July, he laid siege to Melun, where he met with a much more obstinate resistance. The kings of France and Scotland were present at this siege, which was pushed with uncommon vigour. The place held out till November 18, and was compelled at last to surrender by famine, rather than by the efforts of the English, who lost 1700 men before its walls (88).

(83) Rym. Fœd. t. 9. p. 895—905.

(84) Id. ibid. p. 906.

(85) Id. ibid. p. 910.

(86) Id. ibid. J. de Urſins, p. 379.

(87) T. Elmham, c. 92.

(88) T. Walsing. p. 403. Rym. Fœd. tom. 10. p. 30.

After the surrender of Melun, Henry, accompanied by the king and queen of France, the duke of Burgundy, and many other persons of rank, marched his army to Paris, where his authority as regent and heir of France had been cheerfully acknowledged. The two kings made their public entry into Paris on the first Sunday in Advent, and the two queens the day after, and were entertained by the citizens with the representation of mysteries, and other fashionable amusements (89). On the 10th of December, an assembly of the three estates was held, with great solemnity, in the great hall of the palace of St. Paul; in which the treaty of Troyes, called the final and perpetual peace, was confirmed, and declared to be a public and perpetual law of the kingdom; and an act was made, requiring all the subjects to take the oaths required by that treaty (90).

A. D. 1420.
Henry's entry into Paris.

The duke of Burgundy having appeared in mourning before the three estates, December 23, and demanded justice to be executed on the murderers of his father, a sentence of condemnation was pronounced against Charles, the pretended dauphin (as he was called), and his accomplices in that murder; and they were declared guilty of high treason, and incapable of succeeding to or possessing any place of power or dignity (91).

Dauphin condemned.

Henry, having brought his affairs in France to this desirable point, and constituted his brother the duke of Clarence, his lieutenant, he conducted his young queen into England, where she was crowned, February 22, with extraordinary pomp and splendour (92).

A. D. 1421,
Coronation of the queen.

After the coronation, the king, with his queen and court, made a progress into the north, and celebrated the feast of Easter at York (93). At Beverly he received the melancholy news of the defeat and death of his brother the duke of Clarence, who had fallen, March 22, near the castle of Baugé, in a battle against an army of 7000 Scots, which had been sent to the assistance of the dauphin, under the command of the earl of Buchan, second son to Robert duke of Albany, regent of Scotland (94). Many other noblemen were slain

Death of the duke of Clarence.

(89) T. Walsing. p. 403. Elmham, c. 105. Villar, t. 14. p. 105.

(90) Rym. Fœd. tom. 10. p. 30. (91) Id. ibid. p. 33.

(92) Rym. Fœd. tom. 10. p. 49. T. Elmham, c. 112.

(93) Elmham, c. 113. 115. (94) Id. c. 104.

A.D. 1421. in this action, and a still greater number taken prisoners. Greatly affected by this intelligence, he hastened to Westminster, and applied with ardour to raising men and money for an expedition to the continent. From a parliament, which met May 2, he obtained a fifteenth from the laity, and a tenth from the clergy, with a ratification of the treaty of Troyes (95).

Military
operations.

Henry constituted his brother John duke of Bedford regent of England; and, embarking at Dover June 10, with a gallant army, landed next day at Calais (95). Having marched this army into Normandy, and made a short visit to the king and queen of France at Paris, he hastened to the relief of Chartres, which was besieged by the dauphin; who raised the siege on the news of his approach (97). Henry, finding it impossible to overtake the enemy, and bring them to an action, employed his army in reducing Dreux (which capitulated August 20,) and several other towns and castles (98). Receiving intelligence that the dauphin, with his army, lay encamped near Beaugency on the Loire, he marched with great rapidity towards that place, in hopes of terminating the war by a battle. But on his approach the enemy's army separated. The English army suffered much in this march by sickness and scarcity of provisions; which obliged Henry, after taking Beaugency, and some other towns, to return towards Paris, and put his troops into quarters of refreshment (99).

Siege of
Meaux.

Impatient of long repose, he soon called his forces into the field, and on October 6, formed the siege of Meaux. This was one of the strongest towns in France; and that quarter of it called the *Market-place* was esteemed impregnable. The garrison, commanded by the bastard of Vaurus, almost desolated the country around, and hanged, without mercy, all the English who fell into their hands, on a certain tree, called the *Oak of Vaurus*. At the earnest request of the Parisians, and to revenge these cruelties, Henry engaged in this siege, in which no quarter was given on either side. The town was taken

(95) T. Walsing. p. 404. Rym. Feed. tom. 10. p. 110.

(96) Id. ibid. p. 129. Elmhurst, c. 116.

(97) Id. c. 117.

(98) Elmhurst, c. 118.

(99) Id. c. 119, 120.

by storm in winter, and the market place surrendered May ^{A. D. 1421.} 10, A. D. 1422. The ferocious Vaurus was hanged on his own oak ; and a few of the most criminal of the garrison were tried and executed at Paris (100).

While the king lay with his army before Meaux, he ^{A. D. 1422.} received the agreeable news, that the queen was delivered of a son, at Windsor, December 6, A. D. 1421. ^{Birth of prince Henry.} He was soon after baptised by the name of Henry ; the duke of Bedford, the bishop of Winchester, and Jacqueline countess of Hainault and Holland (who proved the cause of many misfortunes to the infant prince), being sponsors (101). The queen, on her recovery, returned to France, and joined the king in his camp before Meaux. A few days after the surrender of that place, they made their public entry into Paris, and celebrated the festival of Whitsuntide at the Louvre, with great magnificence (102).

The dauphin, with the auxiliaries he had received from ^{King's} Scotland and Castile, had collected an army of about ^{sickness.} 20,000 men, commanded by the earl of Buchan, constable of France ; with which, after taking La Charity, he besieged Cosne, a town on the Loire, belonging to the duke of Burgundy. The garrison agreed to surrender, if they were not relieved before the 16th of August. When the duke received intelligence of this, he collected all his troops, and requested a reinforcement from the king of England, to assist him in the relief of Cosne. The king answered, that he would march with him in person, at the head of his army, that he might have a share in the glory of ending the war, by defeating the dauphin. He marched accordingly ; but on his arrival at Senlis, he was seized with a feverish disorder, attended with very threatening symptoms. He was carried in a horse-litter to Corbeyle ; but being unable to proceed any further, he gave the command of the army to his brother the duke of Bedford (who had accompanied the queen from England), and returned by water to Bois de Vincennes (103).

(100) Rym. Fœd. t. 10. p. 212. Elmham, c. 22, 23, 25, 26.

(101) T. Walsing. p. 406.

(102) Id. ibid, Elmham, c. 126.

(103) Elmham, c. 127. Walsing. p. 406.

A.D. 1422. claimed king in London till October 1 (1). Some commotions were raised in the marches of Wales, and the neighbouring counties, on this occasion, but they were soon suppressed (2).

Parliament. A parliament was summoned to meet at Westminster, November 9, in which the duke of Gloucester represented the king's person by commission (3). Though the people of England lamented the death, and revered the memory, of their late king, the parliament did not think proper to confirm all the verbal arrangements he had made in his last moments. Disliking the title of regent, as implying too much power, they appointed the duke of Bedford protector of the kingdom and church of England, and chief counsellor of the king, when he resided in the kingdom, with a salary of 8000 marks a-year; and the duke of Gloucester to exercise the same office, with the same powers and emoluments, when his brother was abroad (4). Still further to limit the power of the protector, a council was constituted, with which he was to consult on all important affairs, and a certain salary granted to each member, according to his rank (5). Several wise regulations were also made for defining the powers and privileges of the members of this council, and for securing their attendance.

State of
affairs in
France.

The affairs of the day, then, were almost desperate before the death of Henry V. which a little revived his hopes. He did not, however, reap any immediate advantage from that event; nor did his affairs put on a more favourable aspect for some time. John duke of Bedford regent of France, was hardly inferior to the late king in wisdom, valour, or any commendable quality; he even excelled him in clemency and command of temper. He was nobly supported by the duke of Somerset, the earls of Warwick, Salisbury, and Arundel, the brave and generous Talbot, and other generals, at the head of valiant and victorious troops. About two third parts of France, with the capital, were in the hands of the English and Burgundians; and they received fre-

(1) Rym. Fœd. tom. 10. p. 254.

(3) Id. ibid. p. 257.

(5) Id. ibid. p. 360.

(2) Id. ibid. p. 254.

(4) Id. ibid. p. 261, 268.

quent supplies, both of men and money, from England and Flanders. The duke of Brittany, who had hitherto remained neuter, acceded to the treaty of Troyes immediately after the king's death, and brought an accession of strength to the English interest. The military operations proceeded without much interruption, or any remarkable change of fortune, for a considerable time.

Charles VI. of France did not long survive his son-in-law the king of England; but ended his unhappy life and calamitous reign, in great obscurity, at his palace of St. Paul in Paris, October 21, A. D. 1422. This event, though afflictive to the dauphin as a son, was of great advantage to his affairs. Very many of the people of France, of all ranks, who, from a principle of loyalty, had thought themselves obliged to obey Charles as their king, though they disapproved of his connections with the English, and dreaded the subjection of their country to a foreign yoke, now turned their eyes towards the dauphin as their lawful sovereign, and determined to support his title to the crown. A kind of interregnum succeeded the death of Charles VI. the parliament of Paris declining to use the name of Henry VI. of England in any of their acts, till about three weeks after, when Henry was proclaimed king of France, in Paris, by command of the duke of Bedford (6).

When the news of the death of Charles VI. reached the castle of Espally, where the dauphin then resided, he was immediately proclaimed king of France by his followers, and was crowned a few days after, at Poitiers, with all the solemnity his circumstances would permit (7).

The affairs of Charles VII. at his accession were in a very low state, and seemingly almost desperate. He was only about twenty years of age, and of a character very unfit for surmounting great difficulties, being indolent rather than active, and more addicted to pleasure than to war or business: his queen, Mary of Anjou, was a princess of great beauty and virtue; but she did not possess the heart of her voluptuous husband, which was devoted to his

(6) Villar, tom. 14. p. 172.

(7) Id. ibid. p. 264.

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affairs in
France.

The affairs of the day, hitherto, were almost desperate before the death of Henry V. which a little revived his hopes. He did not, however, reap any immediate advantage from that event; nor did his affairs put on a more favourable aspect for some time. John duke of Bedford regent of France, was hardly inferior to the late king in wisdom, valour, or any commendable quality; he even excelled him in clemency and command of temper. He was nobly supported by the duke of Somerset, the earls of Warwick, Salisbury, and Arundel, the brave and generous Talbot, and other generals, at the head of valiant and victorious troops. About two third parts of France, with the capital, were in the hands of the English and Burgundians; and they received fre-

(1) Rym. Ford. tom. 10. p. 254.

(3) *Id. ibid.* p. 257.

(5) *Id. ibid.* p. 360.

(2) *Id. ibid.* p. 254.

(4) *Id. ibid.* p. 261, 268.

quent supplies, both of men and money, from England and Flanders. The duke of Brittany, who had hitherto remained neuter, acceded to the treaty of Troyes immediately after the king's death, and brought an accession of strength to the English interest. The military operations proceeded without much interruption, or any remarkable change of fortune, for a considerable time.

Charles VI. of France did not long survive his son-in-law the king of England; but ended his unhappy life and calamitous reign, in great obscurity, at his palace of St. Paul in Paris, October 21, A. D. 1422. This event, though afflictive to the dauphin as a son, was of great advantage to his affairs. Very many of the people of France, of all ranks, who, from a principle of loyalty, had thought themselves obliged to obey Charles as their king, though they disapproved of his connections with the English, and dreaded the subjection of their country to a foreign yoke, now turned their eyes towards the dauphin as their lawful sovereign, and determined to support his title to the crown. A kind of interregnum succeeded the death of Charles VI. the parliament of Paris declining to use the name of Henry VI. of England in any of their acts, till about three weeks after, when Henry was proclaimed king of France, in Paris, by command of the duke of Bedford (6).

When the news of the death of Charles VI. reached the castle of Espally, where the dauphin then resided, he was immediately proclaimed king of France by his followers, and was crowned a few days after, at Poitiers, with all the solemnity his circumstances would permit (7).

The affairs of Charles VII. at his accession were in a very low state, and seemingly almost desperate. He was only about twenty years of age, and of a character very unfit for surmounting great difficulties, being indolent rather than active, and more addicted to pleasure than to war or business: his queen, Mary of Anjou, was a princess of great beauty and virtue; but she did not possess the heart of her voluptuous husband, which was devoted to his

(6) Villar, tom. 14. p. 172.

(7) Id. ibid. p. 264.

A.D. 1422. mistress, Agnes Sorrel : his favourites and ministers were neither men of great virtues nor great abilities : his finances were so low, that he could hardly support his little court in decent plenty : the duke of Brittany, one of the greatest vassals of his crown, had declared against him : the duke of Burgundy, the most powerful prince of his family, was his mortal enemy : several of the other princes of his blood, as the dukes of Orleans and Bourbon, the earls of Eu, Angoulême, and Vendôme, were prisoners in England : the English were in possession of his capital, and two thirds of his kingdom : no foreign nation had espoused his cause, except the Scots. But in the midst of all these disadvantages, he possessed one advantage, the full extent and value of which he did not know ;—he had the hearts of all the people of France, who hated the English and loved their country.

French
swear fealty
to Henry.

While the adherents of Charles were crowning him at Poitiers, the duke of Bedford held a great assembly at Paris, consisting of the parliament, the university, the archbishop and his clergy, the magistrates and chief burgesses of the city, who all swore fealty to Henry VI. king of England, as king of France. The same ceremony was performed in all the other cities, towns, and provinces of France, in subjection to the English and Burgundians (8). Thus, there were two kings of France ; and which of them should possess the kingdom, was to be decided by the sword, the last argument of kings.

A.D. 1423.
Treaty of
Amiens.

The duke of Bedford spent the first months of this year in fixing the duke of Brittany in the English interest. With this view, he had a meeting at Amiens with that duke, his brother Arthur earl of Richmond, and the duke of Burgundy. At that meeting, these princes entered into a strict alliance, and solemnly swore to love one another as brothers as long as they lived. To cement this union, one marriage was contracted between the duke of Bedford and the princess Anne, youngest sister of the duke of Burgundy, and another between the earl of Richmond and the princess Margaret, an elder sister of that duke ; and these marriages were soon

(8) Villar, torn. 14. p. 266.

after solemnized (9). We shall see, in the sequel, what regard these princes and sworn brothers paid to their oaths and engagements. A. D. 1423.

As soon as the season for taking the field arrived, France became a theatre of war almost from one end to the other. A minute detail of skirmishes, the taking and retaking of trifling towns and castles, could afford no entertainment to any reader. I shall therefore only mention such events as were of some importance towards the decision of this fatal contest. Military operations.

James Stewart, lord Darnley, at the head of the Scotch auxiliaries, and the marshal Severac, with a body of French troops, in July besieged Crevant in Burgundy; and the earl of Salisbury, marching an army of English and Burgundians to its relief, a bloody battle was fought, in which the French basely deserted their allies, and the English and Burgundians obtained a complete victory. The losses fell chiefly on the Scots, of whom it is said, 3000 were killed, and 2000, with their general, taken (10). Battle of Crevant.

Charles, soon after this great loss, which had almost ruined his affairs, received a body of auxiliaries from the duke of Milan; who, with some French troops, surprised the Burgundian marshal, Toulongion, and took him prisoner, with 600 men. Toulongion was exchanged for the Scotch general, James lord Darnley. The French royalists, towards the end of this campaign, defeated, at Gravelle in Maine, a body of English, commanded by Sir John de la Pole, who, with several other gentlemen, was taken prisoner (11). Successes of the French.

The earl of Buchan, constable of France, had visited his native country; and, by his interest with his brother, Murdoch duke of Albany, the regent, obtained a reinforcement of 5000 men, with which he, and Archibald earl of Douglas, landed at Rochelle. This was a most seasonable aid to Charles in his distress; for which he expressed his gratitude, by granting the dukedom of Touraine to the earl of Douglas, and the lordship of Aubigné to James lord Darnley. He further expressed his confidence in the Scots, by committing the guard of his person to a select body of that nation (12). Reinforcement from Scotland.

(9) Rym. Fœd. tom. 10. p. 280.

(10) Hall, Hen. VI. f. 4.

(11) Hall, Hen. VI. f. 5.

(12) Buchanan, l. 10. Villar, tom. 14. p. 291.

A, D. 1424.

Battle of
Verneuil.

The spring of this year, like that of the last, was spent in besieging and surprizing places of little consequence. In summer, an English army, commanded by the earl of Salisbury, besieged Ivry, a place of some importance, on account of its strength and situation. The governor, after a brave defence, agreed to surrender, if he was not relieved before the 15th of August. King Charles, by collecting his troops, made up an army consisting of 7000 Scots, 1500 Italians, and 10,000 French, commanded by the earl of Douglas, lately created lieutenant-general of the kingdom, who marched to the relief of Ivry, and came within sight of it, August 13. On taking a view of the English camp (into which the duke of Bedford, with all the troops he could collect, had entered a few days before), he found it so strong, that it could not be forced. He therefore retired, and invested Verneuil in Perche. As soon as Ivry surrendered, the duke of Bedford marched towards Verneuil, to raise the siege, or give the enemy battle. At his arrival, the town being taken, he chose convenient ground, and prepared for a general action, which he earnestly desired. The earl of Douglas called a council to determine whether it would be most prudent to fight, or to avoid a battle. The wiser members of the council declared for retiring, and gave the most cogent reasons for their opinion. But a great number of young French noblemen loudly insisted upon fighting; and that rash counsel was adopted, and as rashly executed: for, instead of choosing proper ground for themselves, they advanced, in a disorderly manner, to attack the English in their advantageous station. This was owing to the viscount de Narbonne, who led on his troops without orders, and was followed by many others, in spite of all the general could do to restrain them; for, being a foreigner, and an object of envy, he had not sufficient authority. The duke of Bedford had drawn up his archers, on whom he chiefly relied, in one line, with their sharp-pointed stakes before them. The Italians fled at the first discharge of the English archers. The French and Scots fought with great bravery, and held the victory in suspense almost three hours; but at length were entirely defeated, and pursued with great slaughter. The earl of Buchan, constable of France, the earl of Douglas, and his son lord James, Sir Alex-
ander

ander Meldrum, and many other Scotchmen of rank and merit, fell in this fatal action. Of the French, four earls, two viscounts, eight barons, and 300 knights, were slain. The young duke of Alençon was dangerously wounded, and taken prisoner, with the marshal Fayette, and many other lords and gentlemen. The English left above 2000 of their men dead on this field of blood, and their enemies above double that number (13).

The affairs of Charles VII. seemed now quite desperate. He had lost his only army, and had no means of raising another: his most powerful friends were either killed or taken prisoners: the king of Scotland was set at liberty, and had made a seven years truce with England; which deprived him of all hopes of any further aid hopes from that quarter: he was himself devoted to pleasure, and governed by worthless favourites.

But notwithstanding all these unpromising appearances, the situation of this prince was not so hopeless as either he or the world imagined. The seeds of discord between the English and their allies were already sown, and soon came to maturity. Jaqueline, heiress of Hainault, Holland, Zealand, and Friezland, who was married to her cousin John duke of Brabant, by the influence of the duke of Burgundy, cousin-german to them both, disliked her husband, and made her escape into England a little before the death of Henry V. by whom she was hospitably entertained. The duke of Gloucester cast his eyes on this great heiress, and married her, though her former marriage was not dissolved. The duke of Burgundy was greatly irritated at this step; but the duke of Bedford found means to calm his anger, and keep it within bounds, as long as the duke of Brabant was not disturbed in the possession of his wife's dominions. This, however, was not very long: for as the duke of Gloucester had been prompted to this fatal marriage by ambition more than love, he became impatient to seize the splendid inheritance of his wife. With this view he raised an army in England this summer, with which he landed at Calais in October, a few weeks after the battle of Verneuil. The duke of Burgundy was much pleased with the landing of this army, being persuaded that it

A.D. 1424.

Bad state
of France.Discord be-
tween the
English and
their allies.

(13) Hall, Hen. VI. f. 8: Villar, tom. 14. p. 296—299.

A.D. 1424. was designed to assist in completing the conquest of France. But how great was his surprise and indignation, when he received intelligence, that the duke of Gloucester had marched into Hainault, to take possession of that country in virtue of his marriage! Being then engaged in celebrating his own nuptials with the duchess-dowager of Nevers, he recalled his troops from the combined army in France, and sent them, with his other forces, to the assistance of the duke of Brabant, which soon put a stop to the progress of the duke of Gloucester. Arthur earl of Richmond, discontented because he had been refused the command of the English army, made his peace with Charles, and accepted of the high office of constable of France, vacant by the death of the earl of Buchan. He also prevailed upon his brother the duke of Brittany to violate all his oaths, and enter into an alliance with the French monarch. These untoward events prevented the duke of Bedford from pursuing his victory at Verneuil, and lost him an opportunity of subduing France, which could never be recovered (14). Let no nation exult in its success until it is complete, or despair of its safety until it is subdued.

A.D. 1425. The English ministry were at variance amongst themselves, as well as with their allies. A quarrel very early commenced between the duke of Gloucester, protector, and his uncle Henry Beaufort, the rich and haughty bishop of Winchester, which was now on the point of producing a civil war. To prevent this, the duke of Bedford came over to England in the beginning of this year; and after many efforts, a kind of reconciliation was patched up between the protector and the prelate, by a parliament held at Leicester in March (15). But this reconciliation was neither sincere nor lasting.

A.D. 1426. The duke of Bedford, after spending about a year in England, returned to France; and being justly irritated at the duke of Brittany for his violation of his most solemn engagements at Amiens, invaded his country, and compelled him to relinquish his late alliance with France, to swear once more to the treaty of Troyes, and to do homage to the king of England, as king of France, for his dominions (16). But as both that duke and his

(14) Villar. tom. 14. p. 303—319. Hall, Hen. VI. f. 10, 11.

(15) Hall, Hen. VI. f. 12—18.

(16) Montrelet, vol. 2. p. 35, 36.

subjects hated the English, and favoured the French, this A. D. 1426. &c. change was the mere effect of force, and continued no longer than that force continued.

King Charles did not make all the advantage he might Dissensions in the court of France. have made of the discord which reigned among the English ministers, and between them and their allies. His own little court was a scene of discord and intrigue. Fond of the pleasures of love and friendship, he could not live without a mistress and a favourite. The martial nobles in general hated the favourites, by whom they were treated with very little ceremony; and the earl of Richmond, the constable, declared open war against them. He compelled Charles to banish Tannaguy du Chatel, and Louvel, his two great favourites; and he put their successor Giac to death, and caused Beaulieu to be assassinated; which rendered him exceedingly odious to his new master, and prevented his doing so much service as he could and would have done (17). The military operations, therefore, in France, during the absence of the duke of Bedford, were of little consequence; and the disgraces, rather than advantages, on both sides nearly equal. If the constable Richmond was obliged to raise the siege of St. James de Beuvron, the earl of Warwick, lieutenant for the duke of Bedford, was defeated before Montargis (18).

Ever since the invasion of Hainault by the duke of Gloucester and his duchess Jaqueline, the duke of Burgundy had employed the greatest part of his forces in supporting his cousin the duke of Brabant in his possession of the dominions of his unfaithful consort. When Gloucester returned to England, he left his duchess in Mons; and she was soon after given up by the citizens of that place to the duke of Burgundy, who conducted her to Gant, June 13, A. D. 1426. In September she made her escape from thence, and fled into Holland; which for two years became the seat of war between her and her subjects, supported by men and money from England on the one side, and the dukes of Burgundy and Brabant on the other. In the mean time a process was carried on in the court of Rome concerning her two marriages; and at length the pope, Martin V. pronounced a decree an-

(17) Villar, t. 14. p. 313—327. (18) P. Daniel, tom. 6. 35.

A. D. 1426. nulling her marriage with the duke of Gloucester, and confirming that with the duke of Brabant, and declaring that she could not be united to the former even after the death of the latter. The duke of Gloucester, now at last convinced of his folly, when it was too late to prevent the many mischiefs it had produced, relinquished his pretensions to Jaqueline and her territories, and married his former mistress Eleonora Cobham (19).

A. D. 1428. The war in France, which had languished ever since the battle of Verneuil, was now revived and prosecuted with vigour; the parliament of England having granted a liberal supply for that purpose, and the fatal dispute about the territories of the countess Jaqueline being ended. Thomas Montagu, earl of Salisbury, the most renowned warrior of that age, was appointed, by the duke of Bedford, commander of the English army, to which he brought a reinforcement of six knight-bannerets, thirty-four knight bachelors, 500 men at arms, and 1700 archers (20). The earl, determined to carry the war into the provinces beyond the Loire, resolved (without consulting the regent, who remained at Paris) to make himself master of the city of Orleans, which would open him a passage into those provinces (21). With this view he belieged and took Meun, Jenville, and several other places in the neighbourhood, and sat down before Orleans, October 12 (22). His previous operations had given the French sufficient intimation of his design; and they had destroyed the suburbs, repaired the fortifications, furnished the place with a numerous garrison, and ample stores of ammunition and provision. The bastards of Orleans, Xaintrays, La Hire, Fayette, and many of the bravest captains in France, threw themselves into it, determined to defend it to the last extremity (23). These circumstances rendered the siege of Orleans an object of anxious attention to both parties; and it was generally believed that the fate of France would depend very much on the issue of that siege.

(19) Rym. Fæd. tom. 10. p. 374. Stow, p. 366, 367.

(20) Rym. Fæd. tom. 10. p. 392.

(21) Id. *ibid.*

(22) Montrelet, tom. 2. fol. 38.

(23) Montrelet, t. 2. fol. 39.

The earl of Salisbury had not an army sufficient to invest so great a city as Orleans on all sides; he therefore made his approaches from the south; and at the second assault took the castle called *Tourelles*, which defended the bridge over the Loire, October 24. But this important acquisition proved fatal to the English general, who was mortally wounded by a canon ball, October 27, as he was taking a view of the city from the window of a high tower in the castle; and being carried to Meun, he died there November 3 (24).

A.D. 1428.

Death of
the earl of
Salisbury.

By the death of the earl of Salisbury (saith an ancient historian), the duke of Bedford lost his right hand, and the fortune of the war was changed (25). He was succeeded in the command of the army, and conduct of the siege, by the earl of Suffolk, assisted by lord Talbot, lord Scales, Sir John Fastolf, and others. These captains, being convinced that it would be impossible to take the city while the garrison had a free communication with the country on one side, built a line of redoubts, then called bastiles, at certain distances from each other, quite around it. In these bastiles they lodged their troops; and on some of the largest of them they placed cannon (26.)

Siege of
Orleans
continued.

After these forts were built, the communication between the city and the country was so much interrupted, that the besieged began to dread a scarcity of provisions; and their attempts to introduce them occasioned many skirmishes. Nor did the besiegers enjoy much greater plenty in an exhausted country. The regent collected a great convoy at Paris, consisting of between 400 and 500 carriages, loaded with arms, artillery, ammunition, and provisions, for the army before Orleans, and committed the conducting of it to Sir John Fastolf, with 1600 men. They proceeded without interruption till they arrived at the village of Roveroy, between Jenville and Orleans; where, on February 12, they were met by the earl of Clermont, the bastard of Orleans, the constable of Scotland, and other great captains, at the head of near 4000 French and Scotch

A.D. 1429.

Battle of
Herrings.(24) Id. *ibid.* Hall, Hen. VI. f. 23.(25) Id. *ibid.* Montrelet, f. 39.

(26) Montrelet, f. 39.

A. D. 1429 troops. As Sir John Fastolf had timely notice of their approach, he surrounded his little army with his carriages, leaving only two passages, which he guarded by his best archers; and in that posture calmly waited for the enemy. The Scotch and French commanders differed about the manner of the attack; the former insisting that it should be made on foot, and the other that it should be made on horseback: and each nation followed its own opinion. The Scots, dismounting, made a furious attack upon the two passages; but were repulsed with great slaughter by the English archers. The constable and his son being both slain, their troops fell into disorder; and the English, rushing out upon them, obtained a complete victory. The loss fell chiefly upon the Scots, as the French, being generally mounted, made their escape. One hundred and twenty gentlemen, and about 600 common soldiers of the Scotch and French, fell in this action, which was called *the battle of herrings*, because the convoy brought great quantities of that fish for the use of the army in Lent (27).

Proposal
about Or-
leans re-
jected.

The French were as much dejected as the English were elated by the event of this action. King Charles, now beginning to despair of being able to preserve Orleans, sent ambassadors to the dukes of Bedford and Burgundy, at Paris, with a proposal to surrender Orleans to the duke of Burgundy, to be kept by him to the end of the war. After several councils were held on this proposal, it was rejected; which increased the secret disgust of the duke of Burgundy with his English allies (28).

Maid of Or-
leans.

The exultation of the English, and dejection of the French, on this occasion, were both of short duration; and a most surprising change of fortune, brought about by the most improbable means, now took place between these two nations. This great change was not produced by the interposition of a mighty monarch, but of a poor, obscure country girl. The real name of this extraordinary person (to whom the French monarchy owes its preservation) was Joan of Arc, better known in history

(27) Monstrelet, f. 42.

(28) Ibid. f. 45.

by her acquired name of—*The Maid of Orleans*. She ^{A. D. 1429.} was born, A. D. 1407, in the parish of Greux, upon the Meuse, in the village of Dompré. Her parents being poor, could give her no fortune, and little education; and she spent her youth in the service of several families, particularly of a widow who kept an inn at Neufchatel in Lorrain. In this service she often acted as hostler, and rode the horses to water; by which she learnt to ride. She was robust, active and intrepid; but nothing very uncommon appeared in her character while she was a servant. The siege of Orleans, the distresses of the French, and the danger that king Charles was in of losing his kingdom, were the subjects of every conversation. These conversations made a deep impression on the mind of this young woman; and her hatred of the English, and compassion for the French, were wrought up to the highest pitch. At length, her imagination was so heated, that she fancied she conversed with St. Margaret and St. Catharine, who commanded her, in the name of God, to go and raise the siege of Orleans, and conduct king Charles to be crowned at Rheims. Fully convinced that she was called by Heaven to perform these exploits, she applied to Baudrecourt, governor of the neighbouring town of Vaucouleur, earnestly requesting him to send her to the king at Chinon. Baudrecourt believed her to be frantic, and treated her with contempt; but her importunity, the ardour of her looks and language, at last prevailed upon him to put her in a man's dress, to give her arms, and send her with a letter to the king, under the conduct of two gentlemen and their servants (29).

When Joan arrived at court, in the end of February, ^{At court.} she excited much curiosity, but gained little credit to her wondrous tale. It was deliberated two days whether she should be admitted into the royal presence. Curiosity prevailed: she was admitted; and, with an air of respectful freedom, addressed the king in these words: “Gentle dauphin, my name is Joan the Maid; the King of heaven hath sent me to your assistance: if you please to grant me troops, by the grace of God, and the force of arms, I will raise the siege of Orleans,

(29) Monstrelet, f. 42. Villar, tom. 14. p. 374—376.

A. D. 1429: “ and conduct you to be crowned at Rheims, in spite
 “ of all your enemies. This is what the King of
 “ Heaven hath commanded me to tell you (30).” En-
 thusiasm, as well as terror is infectious. Her message
 was agreeable, her manner affecting; and she made con-
 verts of all who heard her. The courtiers, the clergy,
 the parliament, declared they were convinced that Joan
 was commissioned by Heaven to deliver France, and to
 expel the English. This news, accompanied by many
 additional and marvellous circumstances, flew like light-
 ning over all France, and revived the sinking spirit of
 the nation. This intelligence produced a very different
 effect in the English army before Orleans. The soldiers
 were struck with dismay and horror at the thoughts of
 fighting against Heaven; and it gave them but little
 comfort, when their leaders assured them that Joan was
 only in compact with the devil.

Joan en-
 ters Orleans. The siege of Orleans had continued about seven
 months; and the English had constructed no fewer than
 sixty forts around that city, which could not possibly
 have held out much longer; when a great convoy of arms,
 ammunition, and provisions, which had been collected
 at Blois, was dispatched, April 25, to its relief, ef-
 corted by about 5000 men, commanded by La Hire,
 the marshal Bouffac, the admiral Culant, and other
 brave captains. The Maid (as she was called), at her
 own earnest request, accompanied this convoy, riding in
 the front of the army, nobly mounted, and completely
 armed, displaying her standard; which inspired the
 troops with an ardour for action, and a confidence of
 success, to which they had long been strangers. The
 convoy approached Orleans April 29; and, after a very
 feeble and spiritless resistance by the English, was con-
 veyed into the city without any loss. The bastard of
 Orleans was sent out, at the head of a powerful party,
 to introduce their heaven-delegated deliverer; and the
 Maid entered in triumph, amidst the loud acclamations
 of the garrison and citizens (31).

The siege
 of Orleans
 raised. The French remained no longer on the defensive, but
 sallied almost every day, and took several of the strongest

(30) *Id. ib'd.* p. 377.

(31) *Monstrelet*, t. 44. printed, by mistake, 46.

forts of the English, with great slaughter. Though ^{A. D. 1429.} these sallies were conducted by the bravest generals, they wisely gave all the honour of their success to the Maid, who accompanied them with her standard, in order to increase the martial enthusiasm of their troops. The earl of Suffolk, after he had lost 6000 of his men, called a council of war, in which it was resolved to raise the siege. This was accordingly done May 8; and the English army, greatly dispirited, retired into such strong places in the neighbourhood as were in their possession (32).

By these events, the character claimed by the Maid of Orleans was established, both among her friends and enemies. Even the duke of Bedford believed that she possessed supernatural powers; though he inclined to think that these powers were derived from hell rather than from heaven. This appears from the following letter of his to the king and council of England: "Alle thing there prospered for you, til the tyme of the siege of Orleans, taken in hand, God knoweth by what advis. At the whiche tyme, after the adventure fallen to the persone of my cousin of Salysbury, whom God assoille, there felle, by the hand of God, as it seemeth, a greet strook upon your people that was assembled there in grete nombre, caused in grete partie, as y trowe, of lakke of sadde belive, and of unlevefulle doubt that thei hadde of a disciple and lyme of the Fiende, called the Pucelle (Maid), that used fals enchautments and forcerie. The whiche strooke and discomfiture nought oonly lessed in grete partie the nombre of youre people there, but as well withdrew the courage of the remenant in merveilous wyse, and couraiged youre adverse partie and enemies (33).

History of
the Maid
continued.

The French generals, wisely resolving not to allow the ardour of their own troops to cool, nor to give the English time to recover from their consternation, invested Gergeaux, June 12, into which the earl of Suffolk had retired with about 1200 men. The town was taken by scalade: one half of the garrison was killed, the other half, with the earl of Suffolk and one of his brothers,

Successes of
the French.

[32] Monstrelet, f. 46.

[33] Rym. Fœd. tom. 10. p. 408.

A. D. 1429. were made prisoners (34). Meun and Beaugency soon after shared the same fate (35). At all these sieges the Maid of Orleans assisted, behaving with the greatest intrepidity, and encouraging the troops by her words and her example. At the escalade of Gergeaux, she was wounded on the head, and thrown from the top of her ladder into the ditch; from whence she cried, with a loud and animating voice,—“ Advance, advance, my brave countrymen; the Lord hath doomed the English to destruction (36).”

The constable joins the army.

When the French were engaged in the siege of Beaugency, they received a considerable reinforcement by the arrival of the constable Arthur earl of Richmond, at the head of 1200 men at arms, besides other troops, which he had raised in Brittany. The constable had rendered himself so odious to the king, and his present favourite Trimouille, by his persecution of the former favourites, that it was with difficulty Charles could be prevailed upon to accept his services, or permit his troops to join the army, which was greatly strengthened by that junction (37).

Battle of Patay.

The Duke of Bedford, recovered a little from the astonishment into which the late singular events had thrown him, collected about 4000 men, and sent them to join the remains of the English army, now commanded by the brave lord Talbot. When this reinforcement, conducted by sir John Fastolf, joined lord Talbot, they formed an army, which the French a few months before would not have dared to approach. The French commanders held a council of war, in which they consulted their oracle, the Maid of Orleans; who cried out,—“ In the name of God, let us fight the English, though they were suspended in the clouds!—But where (said they) shall we find them?—March! march! (cried she) and God will be your guide.”—When these sayings were published in the army, every soldier became impatient for action, and confident of victory. The two armies met, June 18, at the village of Patay, near Anville. In the English army all was discord and confusion, some insisting that they should fight on foot, and some

(34) Monstrelet, f. 45. Hall, f. 26.

(36) Villar, t. 10. p. 397.

(35) Id. ibid.

(37) Villar, tom. 10. p. 398.

that they should fight on horseback; and before any order could be restored, they were attacked with great fury. A. D. 1429.
 The brave lord Talbot fought with his usual firmness; but a great part of the army fled without striking a stroke, and, amongst others, the famous sir John Fastolf, who was therefore deprived of the garter, with which he had been honoured. The French obtained a complete victory: 1800 of the English were killed; the lords Talbot, Scales, Hungerford, and about 100 gentlemen were taken prisoners (38).

These rapid successes of the French arms greatly increased the fame and influence of the Maid of Orleans, to whom they were imputed; and the greatest generals thought it prudent to comply with her proposals, even when they did not approve them. Having performed her first promise, by raising the siege of Orleans, she now strenuously insisted on the immediate march of the army to Rheims, in order to the performance of the second, by the coronation of the king in that city. It was evidently a dangerous operation, to march a small army of 10,000 men through a country full of strong places in possession of the enemy. But every danger and difficulty vanished before the Maid: Charles met with little or no opposition on his march, and entered Rheims in triumph, July 16, where, two days after, he was solemnly crowned and anointed, amidst the loudest acclamations of the people (39). No object attracted so much notice on this occasion as the Maid of Orleans; she stood by the king's side, with her banner displayed, during the whole ceremony; and as soon as it was ended, she fell prostrate at his feet, embraced his knees, and with a flood of tears entreated his permission to return to her former station. But Charles had reaped so many advantages from her presence, and expected so many more, that he could not be prevailed upon to grant her that permission; and she was constrained to remain in the army (40).

This coronation of king Charles was far from being a vain unprofitable ceremony. From that moment the French, even in those parts of the kingdom that were under the dominion of the English, turned their eyes to- Many places
surrendered to
him.

(38) Monstrelet, f. 45.

(39) Id. f. 48.

(40) Villar, tom. 14. p. 433.

A.D. 1429. wards him as their lawful sovereign, and a prince favoured by heaven; and in a few days he had the satisfaction of receiving the submission of Laon, Soissons, Crespy, La Ferté-Milon, Chateau-Thierry, Creil, Coulommiers, Provins, and many other strong places, whose inhabitants had expelled their English and Burgundian garrisons (41).

Military operations.

The duke of Bedford, in the mean time, was far from being idle. Knowing that king Charles had made advances to the duke of Burgundy, he, by the most earnest applications, prevailed upon that prince to come to Paris, in the beginning of July, and renew his alliance with England (42). The duke of Burgundy left Paris, July 16, to collect his troops; and two days after the duke of Bedford set out for Normandy, to raise the forces of that province, and to meet his uncle, Henry bishop of Winchester, and cardinal of England, who had landed at Calais with 5000 men, originally intended for a croisade against the Hussites in Bohemia, but now to be employed in France (43). Bedford, having raised about 5000 men in Normandy and Picardy, and being joined by the cardinal's army, marched in quest of king Charles, in order to give him battle. From Montreau-sur-Yonne, August 7, he sent that prince a challenge to decide their important quarrel by a general action; to which it doth not appear that he received any answer (44). A few days after, the two armies came in sight, near Senlis; and when they had faced each other two days, they separated without a battle (45).

Continued.

The duke of Bedford, finding that he could not bring the French army to action, marched back to Paris, and from thence hastened into Normandy, to oppose the earl of Richmond, constable of France, who had made an inroad into that province (46). In his absence, king Charles made an attempt on the capital; but, after an unsuccessful assault, in which the Maid of Orleans was dangerously wounded, he was obliged to retire, and, marching southward, received the voluntary submission of several towns. Thus ended the military operations of this memorable year, in which the fortunes of the two contending nations so entirely changed.

(41) *Id.* *ibid.* p. 435.

(42) *Rym. Fæd.* t. 10. p. 433.

(43) *Id.* f. 50.

(42) *Monstrelet*, f. 47.

(44) *Monstrelet*, f. 3.

(45) *Villar*, tom. 14. p. 447.

The king of France was not ungrateful to the person ^{A. D. 1429.} who had been the visible instrument of this happy change in his condition. He not only ennobled the Maid of Orleans, but also her parents, brothers, and sisters, extending that privilege to all their posterity of both sexes (47). ^{Maid of Orleans ennobled.}

The brave and active duke of Bedford, having compelled the constable to evacuate Normandy, returned to Paris to receive the duke of Burgundy, who entered that city, September 29, at the head of 4000 men. ^{Dukes of Bedford and Burgundy at Paris.} Knowing that king Charles had made that prince the most tempting offers to detach him from his alliance with England, the duke of Bedford granted all he desired, to keep him steady in that alliance. With that view, he was constituted governor of Paris, and regent for the king of England of all the kingdom of France, except Normandy, till Easter (48). After spending some weeks at Paris in settling the plan of the next campaign, the two dukes separated, seemingly in the most perfect friendship.

The duke of Bedford, having observed the great effects produced by the coronation of king Charles at Rheims, had importuned the protector and council of England, to send over young king Henry to be crowned at Paris. ^{A. D. 1430. Henry crowned at London and Paris.} The English council, thinking it decent that the should first be crowned in England, that ceremony was performed at Westminster, November 6, A. D. 1429 (49). The wealth of England was so much exhausted by this long and expensive war, that it required no less than six months to raise as much money as was necessary to defray the expences of the king's voyage to France; and this money was chiefly raised by pawning the jewels of the crown, and by extorting loans, some of them so low as five marks (50). At length the young king embarked at Dover, April 27, A. D. 1430, and landed at Calais the same day, attended by the chief nobility of England, and a considerable number of troops. But many of these troops were so terrified by the reports they heard of the Maid of Orleans, that they immediately deserted, and returned to England; which obliged the duke of Gloucester to issue a proclamation for apprehending them,

(47) Id. *ibid.* p. 470.

(48) Monstrelet, f. 53.

(49) Rym. Fœd. t. 10. p. 436.

(50) Id. *ibid.* p. 455—467.

A. D. 1430. wherever they could be found (51). From Calais Henry was conducted to Rouen, where he resided about eighteen months; as it appears, from the best authority, that he was not crowned at Paris till Dec. 17, A. D. 1431. (52). The delay of his coronation proceeded from the same cause with the delay of his voyage, viz. the want of money; and yet all the money bestowed upon both was thrown away, as they produced no good effect.

Maid of Orleans taken prisoner.

Soon after the arrival of king Henry in France, an event happened which filled the English with the most lively transports of joy. This was the capture of the Maid of Orleans, who for some time past had been the great object of their dread and hatred. That intrepid heroine had fought her way into the town of Compeigne, which was besieged by the English and Burgundians; and on the very next day, May 25, she headed a sally, which at first was successful, but at last repulsed. The Maid, as usual, placed herself in the rear of her troops, and frequently faced about on the pursuers, and put them to a stand. At length, being surrounded, and pulled from her horse, finding it impossible to escape, she surrendered herself a prisoner to the bastard of Vendome, who delivered her to John de Luxembourg, earl of Ligny, commander of the Burgundian army. The joy of the English and Burgundians on this occasion was excessive; and the whole camp resounded with loud reiterated acclamations (53.) There were as great rejoicings at Paris, and other places in possession of the English, as if they had obtained the most decisive victory.

A. D. 1431.
Her trial.

The unhappy Maid, from the first moment of her captivity, was ungratefully neglected by her friends, and cruelly treated by her enemies. The duke of Bedford, having bought her from the earl of Ligny for the enormous sum of £10,000, and an annuity of £300 to the bastard of Vendome, she was conducted to Rouen, thrown into a dungeon, and loaded with irons. In this deplorable state, she languished many months, while her enemies were contriving the mode of proceeding against her, in order to secure her condemnation. Messengers were sent to the place of her nativity, to investi-

(51) Rym. Fœd. tom. 10. p. 472.

(52) Villar, tom. 15. p. 96. From the register of the parliament of Paris.

(53) Villar, tom. 15, p. 19.

gate the actions of her youth; but the reports they brought ^{A.D. 1431.} back were not unfavourable. As a prisoner of war she was entitled to be treated with civility, and either to be exchanged or ransomed. At length a commission was granted to the bishop of Beauvais, brother Martin, vicar-general of the inquisition, and certain doctors of the canon law, to try her for heresy, sorcery, and witchcraft. All her judges were zealous in the English interest, and determined, if possible, to find her guilty. These judges held their first session, February 13, A. D. 1431; when their forlorn prisoner was brought before them, loaded with irons, from which she earnestly entreated them to relieve her, but in vain. In that, and fifteen succeeding sessions, they asked her a prodigious number of questions, many of them very artful and ensnaring; but though she was quite illiterate, and was not allowed the assistance of any counsel, she answered all their questions in a manner so acute and guarded, that they gained no advantage. In a word, they could discover nothing on which to found a sentence of condemnation, except—that she had worn man's clothes and arms, and engaged in war—and that she persisted in declaring, that she believed the visions she had seen were real visions. Her prosecutors then laboured to work upon the two powerful passions of the love of life, and fear of death—by painting, in the strongest colours, the horrors of that sentence which was to be pronounced upon her—and by persuading her to make a recantation, in order to save both her body and her soul from torment. At length, she consented to subscribe, with the sign of the cross, a solemn promise, never more to bear arms, or wear man's apparel; to which, it is said, several other articles unknown to her were added. She was then furnished with the dress of her own sex; but it was taken away in the night by her guards, and a man's dress put in its place; of which she complained bitterly in the morning, and continued in bed as long as nature would permit. When constrained to rise, she covered herself with some part of the man's apparel; on which her keepers, who had an opportunity of observing all her actions, rushed into the room. Her judges were assembled; the keepers swore they had seen her in man's clothes; a sentence of death was pronounced upon her, as a relapsed heretic; and she

was

A. D. 1431. was delivered to the secular arm, to put that sentence in execution.

Her execution.

This was accordingly done, in the market place of Rouen, May 30, in the presence of the cardinal of Winchester, several other bishops, all her judges, and an amazing multitude of spectators. On the front of the pile of wood in which she was to be burnt, a tablet was suspended, with this inscription: "Joan, who made herself be called the Maid, a pernicious liar, a deceiver of the people, a sorceress, superstitious, presumptuous, cruel, a blasphemer, an infidel, a murderer, an idolater, a worshipper of the devil, an apostate, schismatic, and heretic." When the Maid appeared, still loaded with chains, emaciated, dejected, and bathed in tears, a priest mounted a pulpit, and pronounced a most virulent invective against the unhappy victim about to be sacrificed; concluding with this hypocritical declaration: "Joan, the church can protect you no longer, and now gives you up to secular justice." The secular magistrates were so much affected, that they could pronounce only the single word, Proceed. She was then placed on the pile, and reduced to ashes, embracing a cross, and calling on the name of Jesus to her last moment. Thus perished, in the midst of flames, and under a load of calumny, the virtuous, heroic Maid of Orleans, whose only crime seems to have been an ardent, enthusiastic love of her country, which she preserved from a foreign yoke. The best apology that can be made for her prosecutors is—that their resentment was inflamed beyond measure by the losses they had sustained—that they really believed her to be an agent of the devil—and that they hoped, by her disgrace and death, to recover their former ascendant over their enemies; in which they were disappointed (54).

Military operations.

The English and Burgundians were obliged to raise the siege of Compeigne, after it had continued six months. Lagny was besieged three times by the English in vain. The other military operations of this year were so trifling, that they merit no attention.

A. D. 1432.
Continued.

Both the contending nations were now so much exhausted by this long, bloody, and expensive war, that they could not bring any considerable armies into the

field. They were therefore chiefly employed in taking ^{A. D. 1432.} towns and castles from each other by surprise, and in predatory excursions from their several garrisons. Thus Chartres was surprised by the French, and Montargis by the English, in the spring of this year; and the open country in the several provinces was plundered by both parties, and the people reduced to great distress (55). The English again besieged Lagny twice in the course of this campaign, but without success (56).

Ann of Burgundy, duchess of Bedford, died at Paris, ^{Misunder-} November 14, A. D. 1432; and her death dissolved the ^{standing be-} chief tie which united the dukes of Burgundy and Bedford. The coolness between these two princes was much ^{tween the} increased by the sudden marriage of the latter, in Janu- ^{dukes of} ary A. D. 1433, to Jaqueline, daughter of the earl of ^{Bedford and} St. Pol, without consulting the former. To prevent an ^{Burgundy.} open rupture, the cardinal, bishop of Winchester, pre- ^{A. D. 1433.} vailed upon them to appoint a meeting at St. Omer's, to settle all their disputes. But when the two dukes came to that place, in May this year, neither of them could be prevailed upon to make the other the first visit. The cardinal laboured earnestly to overcome this difficulty, but to no purpose; and they departed without meeting, in mutual discontent. The duke of Bedford, on this occasion, allowed his pride to overcome his prudence; of which he heartily repented, when it was too late (57).

While the people of England were regaled with the ^{The English} news of frequent victories, and encouraged by the ^{discontent-} prospect of subduing France, they bore the expences of the ^{ed.} war without much repining; but when the tide of success turned, and the prospect of conquest vanished, they became peevish and discontented. The supplies obtained from parliament with great difficulty, were quite inadequate to the exigencies of the war. This inclined the majority of the English council to wish for peace; and conferences were held for that purpose last year, under the mediation of the pope, and this year under the mediation of the duke of Orleans, who hoped to obtain deliverance from his long captivity in England, by being the instrument of procuring peace. But the pretensions

(55) Monstrelet, f. 84—87.

(56) Hall, f. 40.

(57) Monstrelet, f. 89, 90.

A. D. 1433. of the English were too high, and the concessions of the French too low, to admit of an accommodation (58).

A. D. 1434. The alliance of the duke of Burgundy with the English against his own family and his native country, into which he had been brought by the violence of his resentment for the murder of his father, was neither very natural nor very prudent. His resentment was now much abated; and he plainly perceived that it was not his interest to see a king of England peaceably seated on the throne of France. He had been often disgusted by his English allies, and was continually solicited by his nearest relations to listen to the plausible excuses and tempting offers made by king Charles. These considerations gradually abated his aversion to Charles and his attachment to the English. At an interview which he had with his two brothers-in-law, the duke of Bourbon and the constable Richmond, at Nevers, to settle some family-disputes, towards the end of this year, he was brought to a final resolution to be reconciled to Charles. A congress was appointed to be assembled next year, in the city of Arras; to which the duke of Burgundy insisted the English should be invited, as he had solemnly engaged not to make peace without their participation. They were accordingly invited, and accepted of the invitation (59).

A. D. 1435. King Charles appointed no fewer than twenty-nine commissioners to this congress, consisting of the greatest lords and prelates, and most learned men of his kingdom (60). The king of England named twenty-seven commissioners, of the highest rank and greatest eminence in church and state (61). The duke of Burgundy, the most magnificent prince of those times, appeared in person, attended by his whole court, and the chief nobility of his dominions. The pope sent the cardinal of the holy cross; and the council of Basil, then sitting, deputed the cardinal of Cyprus to represent them. In a word, there was hardly a prince or state in Europe which did not send ambassadors to this congress, which was the most numerous and splendid assembly that had been seen for several ages (62).

(58) Rym. Fœd. tom. 10. p. 514. 530. 556, &c.

(59) Montstrelet, f. 102.

(61) Id. f. 107.

(60) Id. f. 108.

(62) Id. ibid.

In the first session of this famous congress, August 20, ^{A.D. 1435} each of the two cardinals, who acted as mediators, made a speech, describing the calamities of war and the blessings of peace, and earnestly recommending moderation in their demands to the plenipotentiaries of the powers at war, that a peace might be concluded. But after they entered upon business, it soon appeared, that there was no probability that a peace would be made at this time between the kings of England and France. The French plenipotentiaries proposed—to cede to the king of England the provinces of Normandy and Guienne, to be held by homage of the crown of France, on condition that Henry relinquished all his pretensions to that crown, and gave up all the other places he held in France. The English commissioners were so much offended at this proposal, which they considered as an insult, that they did not deign to return any answer to it, or make any proposals of their own, but broke off the conferences, and left Arras abruptly, September 6 (63). This was certainly a very imprudent step, as it made them appear in an unfavourable light to the other powers of Europe, and furnished the duke of Burgundy with a plausible pretence for making a separate peace with France.

As soon as the English plenipotentiaries were gone, those of France and Burgundy laboured to adjust the terms of reconciliation between these two powers. This was not a difficult task, as the duke of Burgundy obtained every thing he could desire; and the peace was sealed and sworn with great solemnity, at Arras, September 21 (64).

When this peace was proclaimed in the cities of France and of the territories of the duke of Burgundy, the rejoicings were excessive, and continued several days. But when the report of it reached England, it excited the most violent indignation against the duke of Burgundy, who was loaded with the bitterest reproaches for the breach of his alliance. The Londoners in particular were so much enraged, that they plundered, and even murdered, several of his subjects who resided in that city. The heralds he sent to notify the peace in form, and make an apology for his conduct, were treated with great contempt, and sent back without an answer, which

(63) Monstrelet, f. 110—112.

(64) Id. f. 112—119.

greatly

A. D. 1435. greatly irritated that powerful prince, and converted an unsteady friend into a determined enemy (65).

Death of the duke of Bedford. During the congress at Arras, England sustained an irreparable loss by the death of the duke of Bedford, who expired at Rouen, September 14, deeply affected by the untoward events which had lately happened, and the dread of still greater disasters (66).

A. D. 1436. Divisions in the council of England, and the consequences. The council of England, from the beginning of this unhappy reign, was divided into two parties; the one headed by the duke of Gloucester, and the other by the cardinal of Winchester. The animosity of these parties, which was very violent, disturbed the peace of the country, and obstructed the vigorous prosecution of the war. Richard duke of York was appointed regent of France, by the influence of the duke of Gloucester and his party; but the other party, who favoured Edmund Beaufort, afterwards duke of Somerset, the cardinal's nephew, threw so many impediments in the way, that six months elapsed before the duke of York obtained his commission. In this interval, the city of Paris, and almost all the other places of strength in the isle of France, were lost, being either purchased, surprised, or forcibly taken, by the enemy (67).

Commissions to the dukes of Burgundy and York. The council of England, especially that part of it under the influence of the cardinal, discouraged by so many losses, and dreading still more, became sincerely desirous of peace, and gave a commission to the duke of York, May 20, to treat of a truce or peace; and at the same time gave a commission to the cardinal of Winchester, and the duke of Burgundy, whose enmity they had drawn upon themselves by so many insults, to treat of a marriage between king Henry and a daughter of king Charles, to whom they gave only the name of Charles de Valois (68). These absurd and sneaking commissions, so inconsistent with their haughty behaviour at the congress of Arras, and their contemptuous treatment of the duke of Burgundy, are a sufficient indication of the weakness and instability of the councils of England at this period, and must diminish our surprise at the losses and disgraces which ensued.

Calais besieged; the siege raised. The duke of Burgundy was so far from acting as a commissioner of the king of England, that he was at this

(65) Montrelet, f. 120, 121.

(66) Hall, f. 47.

(67) Id. f. 46, 47, 48. Montrelet f. 127.

(68) Rym. Fœd. tom. 10. p. 642—644.

very time raising a great army, with which he invested Calais, July 19. The duke of Gloucester, and his party in the council, who were always for a vigorous prosecution of the war, hearing of these great preparations, and alarmed at the danger of this important place, in a few weeks collected a fleet of five hundred sail, and raised an army of fifteen thousand men, with which he landed at Calais, August 2. The duke of Burgundy, now despairing of taking the town, and afraid to venture a battle, raised the siege with great precipitation, leaving his heavy cannon, and the greatest part of his baggage behind him. The duke of Gloucester pursued him, burning and destroying the country, and collecting a great deal of booty, with which he returned to Calais, and from thence to England (69).

The duke of York having landed in Normandy in June, with a reinforcement of 8000 men, the war was pushed with some degree of vigour, and several places recovered, which had been taken by the enemy. The brave lord Talbot defeated a considerable body of French troops, commanded by Xantrails and La Hire, who had approached Rouen, in hopes of being admitted into it, by certain citizens, with whom they held a correspondence. Towards the end of the year, he took the strong town of Pontoise by a stratagem; which enabled the English to push their predatory incursions to the very gates of Paris (70).

Queen Katharine, widow of Henry V. died January 7, this year. Soon after the death of her renowned husband, she married Owen Tudor, a Welsh gentleman, by whom she had three sons, Edmund, Jasper, and Owen. Edmund, the eldest, was created earl of Richmond, by Henry VI. A. D. 1452, and married the lady Margaret, only daughter of John Beaufort, duke of Somerset; by whom he had one son, Henry, Earl of Richmond, afterwards king of England (71). The suddenness of queen Katharine's second marriage, and the very inferior rank of her husband, gave great offence to her royal relations, and brought her into general contempt; but the respect which the English ministers bore to the memory of their late king, prevented them from

A. D. 1435.

Military operations.

A. D. 1437.

Death of queen Katharine, &c.

(69) Stow, p. 376. Fabian, v. 2. p. 139. Monstrelet, f. 132—139.

(70) Monstrelet, f. 140—142.

(71) Dugdale's Baron. vol. 2. p. 237, &c. Sandford's General. p. 285.

giving

A.D. 1437. giving Mr Tudor any trouble during the queen's life. Immediately after her death, he was committed to Newgate; from which he made his escape; but being retaken about a year after, he was committed to the tower (72).

Military operations.

The duke of Burgundy was so much harassed by the frequent insurrections of his Flemish subjects, that he could give but little aid to his new allies. Dreading the resentment of the English, which was much inflamed by his late attempt upon Calais, he earnestly intreated the king of France to collect his forces, and make the most vigorous efforts against their common enemies, promising to favour his operations by a diversion on the side of Normandy. Roused from his habitual indolence by these intreaties, Charles appointed a rendezvous of his troops at Gien, in the spring of this year; and, putting himself at their head, besieged and took Landen, Nemours, and Montreaw-Faute-Yone. At the siege of this last place, he gained great honour by his activity and personal courage (73).

Continued.

The duke of Burgundy was not so successful in this campaign. About the beginning of October, his generals invested Crotoy, near Abbeville, a place of great importance on account of its strength and situation; while the duke, at the head of an army, lay near, to prevent its being relieved. The brave lord Talbot, having collected a small army of about 5000 men, marched towards Crotoy. When he reached the Somme, he found the duke of Burgundy, with his army, on the opposite bank, ready to dispute his passage. Fired with indignation against that prince, Talbot and his troops plunged into the river without hesitation; which so intimidated the Burgundians, that they retired without striking a stroke, and immediately after raised the siege. Having victualled and repaired the place, Talbot made an incursion into Picardy and Artois, burning and plundering the country; and then returned into Normandy, loaded with spoils and glory (74).

By the factious intrigues which still prevailed in the council of England, the duke of York was deprived of the regency of France, and Richard Beauchamp, earl of

(72) Stow, p. 376. Rym. Fœd. tom. 10. p. 685, 686.

(73) Montrelet, f. 145.

(74) Montrelet, f. 149, 150. Hall, f. 54.

Warwick, appointed regent in his place, July 16 (75). ^{A.D. 1437.} That nobleman, having been put back several times by contrary winds, landed in Normandy in November, with a reinforcement of 1000 men; and the duke returned to England, much discontented (76).

France was at this time a scene of the most deplorable distresses and misery. A destructive pestilence and cruel famine swept away a great proportion of its inhabitants; while several of its provinces were infested by great bands, or rather armies of robbers, consisting of soldiers of fortune, who, having no pay, committed the most horrible ravages. England was not without its share of misery, being afflicted, at least in an equal degree, with the plague and famine (77). These calamities produced an almost total cessation of hostilities. Richard the good earl of Warwick, regent of France, died at Rouen, April 30 (78).

The pope still continued his exhortations to peace; ^{A.D. 1439.} which were seconded by those of the duke of Brittany,—^{Negotiation.} of the dukes of Burgundy,—and of the duke of Orleans, who again offered his mediation, in hopes of obtaining deliverance from his long captivity. In consequence of these solicitations, conferences were held this summer, at a place equally distant from Calais and Gravelines, between the plenipotentiaries of England and France. The ambassadors of the pope and the duke of Brittany assisted at these conferences; the dukes of Burgundy and the duke of Orleans were personally present, and laboured with great earnestness to bring about an accommodation, which was to have been cemented by the marriage of the king of England with a daughter of the king of France. But all in vain: the English insisting on the possession of Normandy and Guienne without homage, and the French insisting on their holding them by homage, the conferences broke up without effect (79). The dukes of Burgundy, at this congress, negotiated a truce for three years, and a treaty of commerce, between the English and the subjects and domi-

(75) Rym. Fœd. t. 10. p. 674.

(76) Hall, f. 54. Stow, p. 377.

(77) Montrelet, f. 154. Fabian, an. 1438. Stow, p. 377.

(78) Id. ibid.

(79) Rym. Fœd. t. 10. p. 720—733.

A. D. 1439. nions of her husband (80). This excellent princess, who was so active in promoting peace, was daughter of John king of Portugal, and grand-daughter of John of Gaunt, duke of Lancaster, and consequently a near relation of the king of England.

Military operations. The conferences for peace did not interrupt the operations of war. The earl of Richmond, constable of France, invested Meaux in the beginning of July, and obliged the town to surrender, after a siege of three weeks. But the garrison retired into the market-place, which was much stronger than the town, and stood another siege. Lord Talbot marched to the relief of Meaux, and found means to throw some troops and provisions into it; but the French camp was so strong, that he could neither force it, nor provoke the constable to battle. The garrison, despairing of relief, capitulated about three weeks after the retreat of lord Talbot. The constable was not so successful in his next enterprise, the siege of Avranches, which he was compelled to raise, with the loss of his cannon and baggage (81).

A. D. 1440. Conspiracy in France. In the beginning of this year, a new storm arose in France, which threatened that unhappy kingdom with greater calamities than it had yet endured. Lewis the dauphin, seduced by his own ambitious spirit, and the persuasions of certain emissaries, made his escape from the castle of Loches, where he resided with his governor the earl of March, and was conducted to Moulins, where he found the duke of Bourbon, the duke of Alençon, the earl of Vendôme, the lords Trimouille, Chaumont, and several other discontented noblemen, with whom he formed a plot for dethroning his father. The conspirators sent gentlemen of their party into the several provinces, to communicate their scheme to such as they hoped would join them; but received very unfavourable answers. They imparted their plot also to the duke of Burgundy, imagining that he still retained some resentment against Charles for the assassination of his father. But that prince advised them to desist from their design, and make their submission to the king, promising to use all his influence to procure their pardon. Hearing that their justly offend-

(80) Rym. Fœd. tom. 10. p. 736. Monstrelet, f. 169.

(81) Monstrelet, f. 166.

ed sovereign was advancing towards them, at the head ^{A. D. 1440.} of a powerful army, they took this advice. The king refused to admit any of the conspirators into his presence, except the dauphin and the duke of Bourbon; who being introduced July 19, made the most humble submissions, and obtained a pardon (82).

The English, taking advantage of this commotion, ^{Military operations.} which was much sooner composed than they expected, plundered Picardy with one army, and with another, commanded by the earl of Somerset and lord Talbot, invested Harfleur, which had been taken by the French, A. D. 1432. The English generals, to prevent their being disturbed, or any relief thrown into the place, fortified their camp with a ditch and rampart, and guarded the harbour with a fleet. The garrison and inhabitants made a brave and long defence, in hopes of being relieved; and as soon as the dauphin and the duke of Bourbon made their submissions, Charles sent an army to their relief; which assaulted the English camp in three places at once; but were repulsed with great slaughter, and obliged to abandon their enterprise. The garrison soon after capitulated; and Harfleur, the first conquest of Henry V. fell once more into the hands of the English (83). The duke of York was again appointed regent of France, July 2 (84).

Two attempts were made this year to put an end to this ^{Conference for peace.} long and destructive war, which had continued twenty-five years, and (if we may believe the cardinal of Winchester) had carried off more men than were at this time both in France and England. But in vain; the article of homage proving an obstacle which neither of the two nations had the magnanimity to surmount, for the sake of a peace, of which they stood so much in need (85).

The negotiations for the deliverance of the duke of ^{Duke of Orleans set at liberty.} Orleans from his tedious captivity were more successful. Negotiations for that purpose had been carried on several years, favoured by the cardinal of Winchester and his party, and keenly opposed by the duke of Gloucester

(82) Montrelet, f. 171, 172.

(83) Montrelet, f. 173, 183.

(84) Rym. Fœd. t. 10. p. 786.

(85) Id. ibid. p. 724, 756, 767, 800, 810.

A.D. 1440. and his adherents. The cardinal having now gained the ascendant in the English council, the terms of a treaty for the duke's deliverance were settled, and prepared for ratification. When the duke of Gloucester perceived that he could not prevent the execution of this treaty, he gave in a protestation against it, June 2, containing several reasons of his dissent; which were disregarded (86). By this treaty, which was signed July 2, the duke was to pay a ransom of 100,000 nobles, equal in value to 200,000 crowns, at different terms. He engaged also to use his most earnest endeavours to bring about a general peace; in which, if he succeeded within twelve months, all the money he had paid for his ransom was to be returned, and the rest remitted (87). Several months elapsed before all the securities for the ransom, and some other matters, were finally settled. At length the duke was conducted to Calais, and from thence to Gravelines, where he was set at liberty, November 12, after a melancholy captivity of twenty-five years, in an enemy's country, at a great distance from his family, his friends, and his princely fortune, which was almost ruined by the war (88).

A.D. 1441. The great popularity of the duke of Orleans, on his arrival in his native country, after so long an absence, gave umbrage to the court of France, and put it out of his power to bring about a peace. The war continued, and was even carried on with more vigour than in some preceding years. King Charles, roused from his habitual indolence, put himself, with his son the dauphin, at the head of his troops, and having taken Creil in the month of April, about the middle of May he invested Pontoise with an army of 12,000 men. This was a place of great importance, on account of its strength and situation, which made him push the siege with the greatest ardour. But he met with an obstinate resistance; and the renowned lord Talbot found means to throw succours into the place three different times; which enabled the garrison to hold out several months. The duke of York, regent of France, having collected an army of about 8000 men, marched, August 15, from Rouen towards Pontoise.

(86) Rym. Fœd. tom. 10. p. 765.

(87) Id. ibid. p. 776—786.

(88) Id. ibid. p. 829.

When he approached that place, he challenged the king of France to a pitched battle ; which that prince declined ; and believing it impossible for the English army to pass the river Oyse without boats, he continued the siege. But the duke of York passed the river by a stratagem, and marched towards the French camp ; which so much astonished Charles, that he retired with great precipitation. The duke, finding it impossible to bring the French to a general action, victualled and recruited the garrison of Pontoise, and then returned with his army into Normandy. When Charles entered Paris, he met with a very cold reception, and plainly perceived, that his late retreat had greatly diminished both the esteem and affection of his subjects ; which determined him immediately to return to Pontoise, and renew the siege. The king appearing foremost in every danger, so animated his troops, that the town was taken by storm, 500 of the garrison put to the sword, and about the same number taken prisoners. By this conquest Charles recovered his reputation ; the French were greatly elated, and the English no less discouraged (89).

A. D. 1441.

The court of England was at this time a scene of the most violent faction. The cardinal of Winchester, who had spies in the family of his rival the duke of Gloucester, being informed by one of them, that the duchess had private meetings with one Sir Robert Bolingbroke, a priest, who was reputed a necromancer, and Marjory Gourdimain, commonly called the *Witch of Eye*, commanded them all to be apprehended, and accused of treason ; pretending that they had made an image of the king in wax, and placed it before a fire, that as the image melted, the king's strength and flesh might decay, till it was quite destroyed. Such an accusation would only have excited laughter in a more enlightened age, but was then treated as a most serious affair. The duchess was examined by the two archbishops, and several other prelates ; and solemnly tried by the earls of Huntington, Stafford, Suffolk, Northumberland, &c. ; and though no evidence was produced at her trial, of the image of wax, or of any thing that had the least relation to treason, she was sentenced to do public penance in St. Paul's,

Trial of the
duchess of

A. D. 1441. and two other churches, on three several days, and to be imprisoned for life. A cruel and unjust sentence, which was dictated by party-rage, and executed with the greatest rigour (90). Bolingbroke, who was a mathematician, and on that account reputed a magician, was condemned to death, and executed at Tyburn. Marjory Gourdimain was burnt in Smithfield (91).

A. D. 1442.
Tartas re-
lieved.

The English army in Guienne had besieged Tartas (a strong town belonging to count d'Albert) several months; and the garrison capitulated in January this year, agreeing to surrender the town, if it was not relieved on or before June 24. Charles, determined to preserve a place of so great importance, the neglect of which would have disgusted count d'Albert, and the nobles of those parts, appointed his troops to assemble at Thoulouse in May; and marching from thence at the head of a gallant army, composed of the nobility of the southern provinces, and their followers, arrived before Tartas at the time appointed; and no English army appearing, the hostages which had been given for the surrender of that place were restored (92). Charles having so fine an army, besieged and took several towns, as St. Severe, Acques, Mermande, and Reole (93).

Charles ob-
tains the
county of
Cominges.

While king Charles remained in those parts, he obtained another great advantage. Margaret countess of Cominges had been confined in prison twenty-two years, by the earl of Armagnac and her own husband, Matthew earl of Fezensaquet, who divided the county between them. The countess, in her confinement, made a will in favour of the king of France, of which that prince having received intelligence, he delivered Margaret from prison, and took possession of that part of the county which was held by the earl of Armagnac. That haughty and potent earl was so much enraged at this, and some other affronts he had received from Charles, that he determined to revolt; and sent messengers to the court of England, to propose an alliance, and to offer one of his daughters to the young king in marriage. This proposal was eagerly embraced by the duke of Gloucester; and Sir Robert Roos, secretary Bickington, and Edward

(90) Stow, Annal. p. 382.

(92) Monstrelet, f. 196.

(91) Id. ibid.

(93) Id. f. 197.

Hull, were sent to conclude the alliance and marriage (94). But all the counsels of the court of England at this time were betrayed by faction. The cardinal of Winchester and his party dreaded nothing so much as a queen in the interest of the duke of Gloucester; and to prevent it, probably conveyed some hints of this intrigue to Charles, who fell upon the earl, reduced his whole country, and took him and all his family, except his eldest son, prisoners (95). A.D. 1442.

The English, unable to make head against king Charles in the south, endeavoured to create a diversion in the north of France. The duke of York sent lord Willoughby, with a body of troops, to plunder the country about Amiens; while he, at the head of an army, made an incursion into Anjou and Maine, burning and destroying the small towns and villages. Towards the end of the year, both these armies returned to Rouen, loaded with booty, but without having made any important conquest. The lord Talbot, who had been created earl of Shrewsbury, March 20, this year, landed in Normandy, with a reinforcement of three thousand men; with which, and some other troops, he besieged Dieppe, in November. But he soon found that his army was too small to take the place by force: he therefore converted the siege into a blockade; the care of which he left to his natural son, a young man of great hopes, and went to Rouen. Soon after his departure, the dauphin, at the head of a considerable army, attacked the English troops before Dieppe, and obliged them to retire (96). Military operations.

The political campaign between the two parties in the English council was as warm this year, as the military one between the two nations in the field. The duke of Gloucester gave in to the king and council an accusation of high-treason against his great adversary, the cardinal of Winchester, consisting of fourteen articles. The most capital of these articles were, that the cardinal, in conjunction with his great confidant John Kemp, archbishop of York, had taken possession of the king's person, and of all his power; and that he had cheated the king and nation of immense sums of money. Both these Disputes in the council of England.

(94) Rymer, Foed. tom. II. p. 6—8.

(95) Hall, f. 64.

(96) Stow, p. 382. Hall, f. 59.

A. D. 1443. articles, as well as several others, were unquestionably true, and could easily have been proved. The council, which consisted chiefly of the cardinal's creatures, declined giving any advice or opinion; and the cardinal extricated himself in his usual way, by procuring a full pardon from the king, of all the treasons and crimes he had ever committed (97).

A. D. 1444.
Truce be-
tween Eng-
land and
France.

The two powerful and flourishing kingdoms of France and England had suffered so much from this long and most destructive war, that they became the objects of universal pity; and almost all the princes and states of Europe laboured to procure a peace between them. The duke of Orleans, who now possessed that place in the confidence of his sovereign to which he was intitled, promoted the same end with the greatest zeal. Isabel duchess of Burgundy, in the name of the duke her husband, concluded a truce, for an indeterminate time, with Richard duke of York, regent of France, April 23, A. D. 1443. (98). Plenipotentiaries from the kings of England and France met at Tours, to settle the terms of a perpetual peace, or long truce. William de la Pole, earl of Suffolk, was at the head of the English negotiators, and the duke of Orleans at the head of those of France. It soon appeared, that a final peace could not yet be obtained; and therefore the plenipotentiaries concluded a truce, May 28, A. D. 1444, between the two kings and their allies on both sides, from that time to April 1, A. D. 1446, during which period the conferences for a peace were to be continued (99). By several subsequent treaties, this truce was prolonged to April 1, A. D. 1450 (100).

King Henry
contracted.

The earl of Suffolk, presuming upon the protection of his great friend the cardinal of Winchester, engaged in another negotiation, for which he doth not seem to have had any proper authority, and in which he was unfortunately too successful. This was a treaty of marriage between his master king Henry and Margaret of Anjou, daughter of Reni, titular king of Sicily, Naples, and Jerusalem, and duke of Anjou, who, with all these pompous titles, was the poorest prince in Europe. From his

(97) Hall, f. 61—64. Rym. Fœd. tom. 11. p. 20.

(98) Rym. Fœd. tom. 11. p. 24—6.

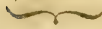
(99) Id. ibid, p. 58—67.

(100) Id. ibid. p. 97. 104. 199. 214.

three kingdoms he derived not one farthing of revenue; ^{A. D. 1444.} and almost all his hereditary estates were in the hands of the English, or mortgaged to the duke of Burgundy (to whom he had been a prisoner) for his ransom. With this princess, therefore, no fortune could be expected. But that was not the worst; for the king of France, her uncle, demanded and obtained a solemn engagement, that the king of England, in consideration of this marriage, should surrender all the places he held in Anjou and Main to the duke of Anjou, and his brother Charles, earl of Main, who was king Charles's favourite and prime minister. As soon as the earl of Suffolk had concluded this fatal contract, he hastened into England to procure its ratification (101).

When this contract (which had been contrived by the cardinal of Winchester and the earl of Suffolk, in order to have a queen in their interest, and indebted to them for her elevation) was laid before the English council, the earl, in a long speech, magnified the high birth, the great beauty, and admirable accomplishments of the princess, which, he said, were more valuable than all the gold and silver in the world; and represented further, that by her near relation to the king, queen, and prime minister of France, she would procure a speedy and honourable peace. The young king was as much pleased, as one of his monkish character could be, with the description given by the earl of the charms and endowments of his intended bride. The cardinal and his party in the council applauded this transaction in the strongest terms. In a word, it met with no opposition but from the duke of Gloucester, who plainly discerned its tendency, and the design of its promoters. That prince affirmed, that the king was already solemnly contracted to a daughter of the earl of Armagnac, who, being now restored to his estates, was ready to perform the conditions of the contract: that by adhering to this engagement, which could not be violated without dishonour, the king would obtain an amiable consort, an ample fortune, and a powerful ally. But these objections were disregarded; and this opposition answered no other end but to inflame the

The contract approved in council.

A. D. 1444.  resentment of Margaret against the duke, and increase her attachment to his enemies (102).

A. D. 1445. Still further to strengthen their party, the cardinal and Suffolk persuaded the king, who was wholly under their direction, to confer additional honours on some of the most powerful of the nobility. John Holland, earl of Huntington, was made duke of Exeter; Humphrey, earl of Stafford, duke of Buckingham; Henry de Beauchamp, earl of Warwick, duke of Warwick, and king of the Isle of Wight (103); the earl of Suffolk was created marquis of Suffolk, and sent, with a splendid train of lords and ladies, to conduct the future queen into England, where, in an evil hour, she landed, April A. D. 1445, and was married to the king at Southwich, in Hampshire, on the 22d of that month, and crowned with great pomp, at Westminster, May 30 (104).

Character
of the
queen.

The cardinal and Suffolk soon found, that the queen they had chosen was admirably fitted for promoting the selfish ambitious ends which they had in view. By her beauty and address, she gained an entire ascendant over her weak and ductile husband. He resigned the reins of government into her hands; which she, being naturally bold, active, and ambitious, grasped with eagerness. Knowing to whom she was indebted for her elevation, she entered keenly into all their projects, and adopted all their passions, particularly their hatred of the duke of Gloucester. That prince attempted to efface the unfavourable impressions his opposition to her marriage had made upon her mind, by meeting her on her road to London with five hundred of his followers in one livery. But in vain: his destruction was determined by Margaret and her confidants (105).

A. D. 1445. Suffolk's conduct, approved by parliament. The queen and her friends being now in the zenith of their power and popularity, they procured from parliament a large supply, and the repeal of an act made in the reign of Henry V.—“That no peace should be made
“with the dauphin of France, without the assent of the
“three estates in parliament (106).” Encouraged by this success, the marquis of Suffolk made a long and

(102) Hall, f. 65.

(103) Rym. Foed. t. 11. p. 49. Dugdale's Baron. vol. 1. p. 248. 165.

(104) Hall, f. 66. Stow, p. 384. Fabian, f. 193. (105) Id. ibid.

(106) Parliament. Hist. vol. 11. p. 241.

pompous harangue in the house of peers, June 22, A. D. 1446. A. D. 1446.
 1446, extolling his own wisdom, zeal, and success, in negotiating the truce with France, and the king's marriage, and requesting their approbation of his conduct in these weighty affairs; which was granted. On the day after he made a similar harangue and request in the house of commons; and, on the 24th, William Burghly, their speaker, attended by many of the members, went up to the house of peers, where the king was seated on his throne, and, in the name of the commons of England, desired the concurrence of the lords in petitioning the king to reward the marquis of Suffolk for his meritorious services. This was granted; and all the members of both houses, on their knees, presented the petition to the king, which was graciously received, and favourably answered (107). How different, in a few years after, were the sentiments of parliament on these subjects!

The queen, the cardinal, and Suffolk, thinking they might now attempt and execute any thing with impunity, determined to rid themselves of their most formidable adversary, the duke of Gloucester. The last parliament had been so obsequious, that they seem to have imagined they could procure his legal condemnation. With this view a parliament was summoned to meet at Edmundsbury, February 10, A. D. 1447. The duke, dreading no danger, came from his castle of the Devises, with a small retinue, to the place appointed. At the opening of the parliament every thing was transacted in the usual form, and nothing appeared to excite suspicion. But on the next day the lord Beaumont, constable of England, attended by the duke of Buckingham, and several other peers of Suffolk's party, arrested and imprisoned the duke of Gloucester, seizing at the same time all his attendants, and committing them to different prisons. The courtiers gave out, that the duke had formed a conspiracy to kill the king, and place himself on the throne; to deliver his duchess from prison, and make her queen of England; and that he was to be immediately brought to trial for high treason. But finding that this improbable tale, of which they could produce no evidence, met with no credit, they changed their plan, and resolved to

A. D. 1447.
 Death of the
 Duke of
 Gloucester.

(107) Hall, f. 67. Stow, p. 385. Daniel in Kennet, p. 394, &c.

A.D. 1447. dispatch him privately, rather than bring him to a public trial. Accordingly, some time after his commitment, he was one morning found dead in his bed, though he had been in perfect health on the preceding evening. His dead body, which had no marks of violence upon it, was exposed to the view of the parliament and of the people, to persuade them that he had died a natural death. But in this they had but little success; for though the several reports that were circulated concerning the manner of his death, were probably no better than mere conjectures, it was universally believed that he had fallen a victim to the malice and cruelty of his three capital enemies; who on that account became the objects of public hatred (108). One of the most inveterate of these enemies, the rich, cunning, and ambitious cardinal of Winchester, did not long survive him, dying, April 11, in great horror, and bitterly reproaching his riches, because they could not prolong his life (109).

The queen
and Suffolk
odious.

After the death of the duke of Gloucester and the cardinal of Winchester, the marquis of Suffolk became the sole minister of state, and great favourite of the queen. To silence the clamours of the people against Suffolk, for the surrender of Anjou and Main, in consequence of the queen's contract of marriage, which he had negotiated, the king issued a proclamation, June 18, declaring his entire approbation of his conduct in that transaction (110): a shallow device, which could have little or no effect. The queen and her favourite were still more severely censured by the public, for the murder of the duke of Gloucester; and the method they took to free themselves from those censures, had a tendency to confirm them. Several of the duke's friends and followers were tried before the marquis of Suffolk, and some other commissioners of his party, and found guilty (upon little or no evidence) of the highest species of high treason, a conspiracy to kill the king, and place the duke of Gloucester on the throne. But Suffolk, finding that he had gone too far, and that the execution of so many gentlemen, who were universally believed to be innocent, would greatly inflame the public hatred against him, procured

108) Hall, f. 69. Stow, p. 386. Continuatio Hist. Cröyl. p. 521.

(109) Hall, f. 70. (110) Rym. Fœd. tom. 11. p. 172.

them a pardon; for which he could invent no better reason than this, "That the king, from his cradle, had a singular veneration for the glorious and immaculate Virgin Mary, the mother of God;" and because the feast of her Assumption was near at hand, he pardoned those gentlemen, who, with many others, had conspired to deprive him of his crown and life (111). This ridiculous reason convinced all the world of their innocence, and of the guilt of those who had first condemned them, and afterwards procured their pardon. The indecent haste and rapacity with which the queen and Suffolk seized on the great estates of the duke of Gloucester, or bestowed them on their creatures, rendered them justly and completely odious (112).

Though Richard, duke of York, on his return from France, after the conclusion of the late truce, had his conduct as regent of France approved by the king and council, and received a new commission of regency for five years longer; the queen and Suffolk, suspecting that he would obstruct the surrender of Anjou and Main, deprived him of that high office, and bestowed it on Edmund duke of Somerset (113): an injury of which they soon had reason to repent. For the duke of York, irritated at this affront, and encouraged by the weakness of the king, and the misconduct of the queen and Suffolk, began to cast his eyes upon the crown, employing emissaries in all parts of the kingdom to explain his right, extol his merits, and represent the necessity of a revolution in his favour. This had a great effect, and soon produced those bloody wars, between the houses of York and Lancaster, which brought England to the brink of ruin.

The king of France did not forget to demand the surrender of the provinces of Anjou and Main, as stipulated in the marriage-contract of the queen of England; and that demand was one cause of those calamities that were crowded into the subsequent years of this unhappy reign. For though the queen and her favourite Suffolk were sufficiently disposed to surrender those provinces, the people of England loudly exclaimed against it; and the

A. D. 1447.

The duke of York aspires to the crown.

A. D. 1448. Surrender of Anjou and Main.

(111) Rym. Fœd. t. II. p. 178.

(112) Id. ibid. p. 155. 158.

(113) Hall, f. 67.

A. D. 1448. English troops, which had them in their possession, were very unwilling to give them up; and some of them obstinately refused to do it, till they were compelled by force (114).

Breach of
the truce.

When these troops (particularly the garrison of Mans, which had been most refractory) arrived in Normandy, they met with a very cold reception, and could obtain no establishment; which induced about 2500 of them, commanded by sir Francis Surienne, a soldier of fortune, late governor of Mans, to seize the rich trading town of Fougiers in Brittany, and to procure subsistence by plundering the surrounding country. The duke of Brittany, justly enraged at this infraction of the truce, in which he was included as an ally and vassal of the king of France, demanded reparation of the injury from the duke of Somerset, who returned a soft answer, promising reparation. But as this was not immediately performed, the duke of Brittany carried his complaints to the king of France; who demanded immediate satisfaction, in a most peremptory tone; and that this might not be easily given, he estimated the damages sustained by the duke of Brittany at 1,600,000 crowns. The duke of Somerset, wishing to avoid a rupture, for which he was not prepared, proposed a conference, in order to an agreement. A conference was accordingly held at Louviers; but broke up without any accommodation (115).

A. D. 1449.
Loss of Nor-
mandy.

King Charles, having spent several years in making preparations for war, was now in perfect readiness, and invaded Normandy, in July and August, with four different armies. It would be equally tedious and perplexing to trace these several armies in their progress. It is sufficient to say, that it was very rapid, and that they met with very little resistance. The fortifications of the towns and castles were in bad repair; they were not properly stored with provisions, arms, and ammunition; the garrisons were ill paid, and worse disciplined; and the inhabitants were violently disaffected to the English government. Some governors were absent; others were foreigners, and soldiers of fortune, and either changed sides, or sold the places which they commanded to the

(114) Monstrelet, tom. 3. f. 5.

(115) Monstrelet, tom. 3. f. 7. Hall, f. 70.

enemy.

enemy. In a word, the far greatest part both of Upper ^{A. D. 1449.} and Lower Normandy, changed masters in less than four months; the duke of Somerset remaining all that time at Rouen, in a kind of political stupor, without increasing the garrison, repairing the works, laying in provisions, or doing any thing to enable him to resist the approaching storm. Charles, encouraged by his own surprising success, and the strange infatuation of his enemies, invested that capital, in the beginning of October, with an army of fifty thousand men. The English garrison consisted of about two thousand; a force quite inadequate to the defence of so great a city, especially as the citizens were as hostile as the besiegers. For after they had failed in an attempt to betray the place to the enemy, they took up arms, drove the duke of Somerset, with a great part of the garrison, into the palace, and compelled him to consent to a most dishonourable capitulation; by which he not only surrendered Rouen, but also Arques, Caudbec, Tankerville, l'Isle-Bonne, Honfleur, and Monster-Villiers, on condition that he and the English garrison should be allowed to go where they pleased; leaving the brave Talbot earl of Shrewsbury, and several young noblemen, hostages, till all the towns were given up. All these towns were accordingly evacuated, except Honfleur, which was besieged and taken, February 18, A. D. 1450 (116). The French, very wisely resolving to prosecute their good fortune, and to give the English no time to recover from their consternation, carried on the war through the winter, the next spring, and summer, without intermission, till they had driven their enemies entirely out of Normandy. Cherburg, the last town they held in that country, surrendered, August 12, A. D. 1450 (117). Thus, in one campaign, and almost without a struggle, the English lost the large, fertile, and populous province of Normandy, containing above one hundred fortified towns, and that only a few years after they had a probable prospect of subduing the whole kingdom of France. So precarious is the prosperity of nations, as well as of particular persons, and so much doth it depend (under Providence) on the wisdom, virtue,

(116) Monstrelet, f. 8—26. Hall, f. 72.

(117) Monstrelet, tom. 3. f. 26, &c.

A D. 1450. and valour, of those who have the administration of their affairs.

**Insurrec-
tions.**

The loss of Normandy, and of several places in Guienne; an insurrection in Ireland, to quell which the duke of York had been sent; together with the oppressions committed in the internal government of the kingdom, had greatly increased the discontent, and inflamed the rage of the people of England against the queen and her favourite (who had lately been created duke of Suffolk), to whom all these losses and oppressions were imputed (118). These discontents soon broke out into acts of violence and rebellion. In the beginning of this year, January 9, Adam Molyneux, bishop of Chichester, and keeper of the privy seal, a creature of the duke of Suffolk, was murdered by the populace at Portsmouth (119). William Ascough, bishop of Salisbury, another of the duke's agents, soon after shared the same fate (120). One Thomas Thany, a fuller, nick-named Blue-beard, excited an insurrection in Kent, which was soon suppressed, and Thany, with some others, were executed at Canterbury, 9th February (121).

**Trial of
the duke
of Suffolk.**

A parliament had been summoned last year, but had been several times prorogued, without doing any business. It met, at Westminster, January 22, this year; and on the 28th of that month, the speaker and members of the house of commons, appeared in the house of lords, and accused the duke of Suffolk of high treason, and, in particular, that he had sold this kingdom to the French; on which the duke was committed to the tower. On February 7, the chancellor and the speaker gave to the king in parliament a formal accusation of the duke, consisting of nine articles; and on the 9th of March, the commons, by their speaker, exhibited a further accusation of high crimes and misdemeanours, containing sixteen articles. On the 17th of that month, the duke being brought into the house of lords, the king seated on the throne, the chancellor asked him, how he would be tried; to which, professing his innocence, he replied, that he referred himself entirely to the king's award.

(118) Rym. Fæd. tom. 11. p. 268.

(119) Stow, p. 387. (120) Continuatio Hist. Croyland. p. 525.

(121) Stow, p. 387.

Upon this, the chancellor, by the king's command, ^{A. D. 1450.} without consulting the peers, pronounced upon him a sentence of banishment from all the king's dominions, for five years (122). This irregular mode of proceeding was adopted, to preserve the duke from being found guilty of high treason by his peers; which would have been the consequence of a regular trial.

Sussex, being fully convinced that he could not be safe in England, where he was universally hated, made ^{Death of} haste to go into banishment, and embarked at Ipswich, ^{Sussex.} May 3. But his enemies, who had watched all his motions, determined that he should not escape. He was overtaken at sea by a ship belonging to the duke of Exeter, called the *Nicolas of the Tower*, whose captain boarded the duke's ship, seized his person, brought him back to Dover, struck off his head on the side of a cock-boat, and left his mangled remains upon the beach (123). In this ignominious manner perished William de la Pole, duke of Sussex, who was certainly one of the most daring, corrupt, and pernicious ministers that ever managed the affairs of England.

The queen, equally enraged and grieved at the death of her favourite, breathed nothing but revenge, especially against the people of Kent; which excited a second ^{J. Cade's} insurrection in that county, far more formidable than the first. It was headed by an artful bold adventurer, whose real name was John Cade; but he assumed the name of John Mortimer, to entice the friends of that family, and those who favoured the title of the duke of York, to join him. Some historians affirm, that he was set to work by that prince, who was then in Ireland, in order to discover the sentiments of the people of England concerning his title to the crown (124). But of this there is not sufficient evidence. Cade, having collected a considerable number of the common people, by specious promises of reforming all abuses, which procured him the name of *John Amend-all*, marched towards London, and encamped at Blackheath, June 1. From thence the insurgents sent two addresses to the king and council, the

(122) Parliament. Hist. vol. 2. p. 255—259, Hall, f. 75, 76.

(123) Continuatio Hist. Croyland. p. 525. Hall, f. 76. Stow, p. 328.

(124) Hall, f. 77.

A. D. 1450. one intitled,—*The complaints of the commons of Kent, and causes of the assembly on the Blackheath*; the other,—*The requests of the captain of the great assembly in Kent*. These addresses were artfully drawn, professing the greatest attachment to the person and government of the king; requesting the redress of certain great and real grievances, the punishment of certain evil counsellors, who had oppressed the people at home and lost the king's dominions abroad; and that the king would govern, by the advice of the dukes of York, Exeter, Buckingham, and Norfolk, and the well affected barons of the kingdom (125). As several of the persons marked out for destruction were members of the council, these addresses were rejected, and a resolution formed to subdue the insurgents by force. An army of about 15,000 men was raised and marched against the insurgents, who retired to the woody country about Sevenoaks; on which Sir Humphrey Stafford was sent with a body of troops in pursuit of the fugitives. He overtook and engaged them near Sevenoaks; but he and his brother were both killed, and his troops defeated (126).

Continued. Cade and his followers, greatly elated by this victory, returned to their former station on Blackheath, June 29. This affair was now become very serious and alarming. Not only the common people in general, but many persons of rank and fortune, favoured the revolt; and even the vassals of the court lords discovered an unwillingness to fight against them. In these circumstances, lenient measures were adopted; and the archbishop of Canterbury and the duke of Buckingham were sent to treat with them. Cade, in a long conference with these ambassadors, behaved with equal decency and firmness; treating them with much respect, but refusing to lay down his arms, till the requisitions in his address were granted. On the return of these messengers, the lord Say, who was most obnoxious to the insurgents, was committed to prison; and the court, not daring to trust to the protection of the army, retired to Kenilworth castle, leaving the lord Scales with a sufficient garrison in

(125) Stow, p. 390, 391.

(126) Id. ibid.

the tower of London. Cade, with his followers, came to Southwark, July 1; and, after some hesitation, were admitted into London. There they seized, and, without any trial, beheaded the lord Say and Seale, late high treasurer of England, and his son-in-law Sir James Cromer, sheriff of Kent. For a few days they behaved tolerably well; but being persons of low birth and indigent circumstances, they could not long behold great wealth within their reach, without seizing some of it, of which their leader set them an example. This alarmed the more opulent citizens, who, with the assistance of the lord Scales, drove the plunderers out of the city, July 5. They attempted next day to break in by the bridge; but after a long and bloody struggle, they were obliged to desist, and agree to a short truce. The archbishops of Canterbury and York, who resided in the tower, being informed by their spies, that they were much dispirited by their late repulse, caused a pardon under the great seal to be proclaimed in Southwark, to all who immediately departed to their own homes. This well-timed proclamation produced a wonderful effect. In a few hours that army, lately so formidable, disappeared. Cade, finding himself thus abandon'd, put his booty on board a barge, and sent it to Rochester, and proceeded by land with a few attendants: but being denied admittance into Queensborough castle, he dismissed all his followers, and put on a disguise. A proclamation was immediately published, offering a reward of 1000 marks to any who brought him in, dead or alive. He was discovered lurking in a garden at Hothfield in Sussex, by Alexander Eden, a gentleman of Kent, and, making some resistance, was killed, and his body brought to London (127). Thus ended an insurrection which, under a leader of higher rank and greater honour, might have produced a revolution.

About this time Edmund duke of Somerset returned into England (having lost Normandy, and all the territories of the English in the north of France, except Calais), and took possession of that place, in the favour of the queen and the hatred of the nation, which had

A. D. 1450.

Duke of
Somerset
returns to
England.

(127) Stow, p. 391, 392. Rym. Fœd. tom. 11. p. 275.

A.D. 1451. been filled by the late duke of Suffolk; an unfortunate circumstance, which prolonged the discontents of the people, and the confusions of the country.

The French
recover
Guienne.

While England was a scene of the most violent faction and discord, the French were employed in conquering Guienne, and the English territories in the south of France, which they would not have attempted in other circumstances; and, to their own surprise, they made this conquest with greater ease, and in a shorter time, than that of Normandy. For though the people of the principality of Aquitaine dreaded falling under the dominion of the French, and were warmly attached to the English government, under which they and their ancestors had lived happily above 300 years; yet, knowing the distracted state of England, and that they could not expect any effectual protection from thence, the far greatest part of the nobility submitted without resistance, in order to preserve their honours and estates; and many of the fortified towns, for similar reasons, opened their gates to the French troops as soon as they appeared. It would be tedious to attend the progress of the French armies in making this conquest. It is sufficient to say, that they met with little opposition, except from the city of Bourdeaux; and that this conquest was completed by taking possession of Bayonne (the last place held by the English), 25th August A. D. 1451 (128). In this manner, and in so short a time, not only all the conquests of Henry V. but also all the hereditary dominions of the kings of England on the continent, were lost. The truth is, that as the conquests of Henry V. were chiefly owing to the violent factions which then prevailed in France, so the loss of these conquests, and other dominions, was also chiefly owing to the no less violent factions which at this time prevailed in England. So true it is, that *a kingdom divided against itself cannot stand.*

A.D. 1452.
Duke of
York takes
up arms.

About this time, Richard duke of York returned from Ireland, after he had quieted the commotions, and gained the hearts of the people of that kingdom, by his mild and prudent conduct. The attempts that had

been made to prevent his landing in England, left him no room to doubt of the hostile dispositions of the court, and made him hold frequent conferences with his friends about his future operations. By their advice, he raised an army in Wales, where the interest of the Mortimer family was greatest, and marched with it towards London; giving out, that his only intention in taking up arms, was to redress the grievances of the nation, and bring the authors of those grievances, particularly the duke of Somerset, to justice. When he approached the city, he was informed that the gates would be shut against him; on which he passed the Thames at Kingston, and encamped on Burnt-heath, near Dartford (129).

A. D. 1452.

In the mean time, the queen and the duke of Somerset, with the assistance of the lords who adhered to the court, raised an army, with which they marched towards their enemies, and encamped on Blackheath. When the two armies lay in this posture, the king sent two bishops and two lords to the duke of York, to demand the reason of his appearing in arms. His answer was the same with his declarations to the public: to which he added, "That as soon as the duke of Somerset was confined, in order to his trial, he would disband his army, and attend the king as his most humble and loyal subject." This proposal was agreed to; the duke of Somerset was confined, or rather confined himself; the duke of York disbanded his army, and waited on the king in his tent, March 1. But how great was his surprise, when he saw his capital enemy (whom he believed to be confined), in the royal presence, at full liberty! Though he perceived that he was ensnared, and in the hands of his enemies, he could not restrain his indignation, but boldly accused Somerset of high treason, who retorted the accusation with equal boldness. As soon as the duke of York left the royal tent, he was arrested, and conducted to London (130).

He is ensnared.

When Henry returned to Westminster, he called a great council of the nobility, to consider the mutual accusations of the two dukes. The duke of Somerset, who was at full liberty, and in the highest favour, earnestly

Is delivered.

(129) Stow, p. 393. Hall, f. 81.

(130) Id. *ibid.*

A.D. 1452. insisted, that the duke of York should be condemned, and executed as a traitor, all his estates confiscated, and all his family seized, as the only means of preserving the king and all the house of Lancaster from destruction. But this measure appeared too violent, in the present temper of the nation, to many of his own party; and several incidents occurred, which prevented its being carried into execution. A report prevailed, that Edward earl of March, the duke's eldest son, at the head of an army, was on his way to London, to rescue his father. At the same time, commissioners arrived at court from the nobility of Guienne, and the citizens of Bourdeaux, representing the earnest desire of the people of that country to return to their obedience in England; and praying for a fleet and army to assist them to shake off the French yoke. The queen and Somerset, knowing that the loss of that country had made them the objects of public hatred, earnestly desired to recover it, in order to regain the favour of the people. This they could not do, if they executed their design against the duke of York. They resolved therefore to set his person free, but to bind his conscience by the strongest ties. He was carried to St. Paul's church; where, in the presence of many prelates, lords, and others, he swore upon the cross, that he would never take up arms against the king, on any pretence. Being then liberated, he retired to his castle of Wigmore in Herefordshire, and lived some time in great privacy, waiting an opportunity to revenge his wrongs and assert his rights (131).

Attempt to
recover
Guienne.

This internal commotion being thus quieted, a commission was granted to the famous Talbot earl of Shrewsbury, to raise a body of troops for the aid of the people of Guienne, according to their request. Though this venerable warrior was now in the 80th year of his age, he executed this commission with all the spirit and activity of youth; and when the army was ready to embark, he was constituted the king's lieutenant in Aquitaine, with very ample powers, September 2 (132). He landed, October 17, with about 4000 men, in the Isle of Medoc, near Bourdeaux; and being joined by L'Esparé,

(131) Stow, p. 395. Hall, f. 81, 82.

(132) Rym. Fœd. tom. 11. p. 312.

the most considerable person in those parts, that small territory immediately submitted. The citizens of Bourdeaux sent messengers to him with great secrecy, inviting him to advance, and promising to admit his army at one of the gates which was in their possession. He accordingly entered the city October 23, without opposition, and made the French garrison prisoners (133). Having remained there about three weeks, to secure that important conquest, and refresh his troops; and having received a reinforcement of 4000 men, commanded by his son the lord Lisle, with a fleet of eighty ships loaded with provisions, he marched out, and in a very short time reduced all the Bourdelois, and some places in Perigord (134).

When Charles VII. king of France received intelligence of this revolution, he was at the head of an army, which he had raised against his son the dauphin, and the duke of Savoy; and he immediately detached a body of troops to the assistance of the earl of Clermont, his lieutenant in Guienne, and prepared to follow them with his whole army. As soon as that army arrived, the tide of success began to turn. The French took Chalais, and invested Castillon, a place of great strength and importance, July 13. Apprehending that the English would attempt to raise the siege, they fortified their camp, planting a numerous artillery on its ramparts. The earl of Shrewsbury, with his son the lord Lisle, immediately marched from Bourdeaux towards Castillon, at the head of 1000 men at arms, and 5000 archers. When they approached the French camp, they were astonished at its strength. The men at arms dismounted; and the brave Talbot, riding on a pony, being, from his great age, unable to walk, encouraged his men, and commanded the assault. The conflict was fierce and bloody; and though the enemy's artillery made great havoc among the English, they broke into the camp, and the French began to recoil; when a fresh body of Britons advanced to the charge, and changed the fortune of the day. Talbot was wounded in the beginning of the action; and about an hour after, his horse was killed by a cannon-ball, and he was thrown on the ground. In this extre-

A. D. 1453.
Talbot earl
of Shrews-
bury killed.

(133) Monstrelet, tom. 3. f. 41.

(134) Id. ibid.

A.D. 1453. mity, he earnestly conjured his son, lord Lisle, to retire, and save himself for the future service of his country. But that young nobleman chose rather to die with, than to desert his renowned father: they were both slain, and the English fled, leaving about 1000 of their number dead on the field of battle, July 23 (135).

Bourdeaux taken.

After the defeat of the English at Castillon, the French met with little opposition till they reached Bourdeaux, which they invested with a powerful army, August 1. The king, attended with the princes of the blood, and a numerous train of nobles, commanded at this siege, and pushed it with great vigour; and the place was no less vigorously defended, by a garison of 4000 English, and 6000 citizens and people of the country. But at length, having no prospect of relief, and their provisions beginning to fail, they surrendered the city October 17; and the English were permitted to depart with all their goods (136). Thus were these very valuable territories in the south of France, containing 4 archbishoprics, 24 bishoprics, 15 earldoms, 202 baronies, totally and finally lost, by which the revenues of the crown were diminished, the national character degraded, and many persons who possessed great estates and offices in those countries ruined.

Birth of prince Edward.

When the discontents occasioned by these losses were at the highest, the queen was delivered of a son (at Westminster, October 13), who was named Edward (137). That princess was at this time so unpopular, that many defamatory tales concerning her were propagated, and generally believed: but they do not merit a place in history. Soon after the delivery of the queen, the king fell into a lingering distemper, which greatly debilitated both his body and mind, and rendered him unfit for any business (138). This, with the general and violent hatred of the people against the queen and her favourite the duke of Somerset, threw the court into great confusion and perplexity.

A.D. 1454. Duke of York protector.

Encouraged by these circumstances, the duke of York emerged from his retirement, and came to London, at-

(135) Monstrelet, tom. 3. f. 57. Hall, f. 84.

(136) Monstrelet, tom. 3. f. 58, 59.

(137) Stow, p. 396.

(138) Rym. Fœd. tom. 11. p. 347.

tended by some of the most powerful lords of his party, ^{A. D. 1454} particularly Richard Nevile earl of Salisbury, and his son of the same name, earl of Warwick, the most potent and popular noblemen in the kingdom. The courtiers, alarmed at the arrival of these great men, with numerous retinues, in the capital, advised the queen to admit the duke of York, the earls of Salisbury and Warwick, with some others of their party into the council, to allay the ferment in the nation, and prevent a civil war. These noblemen being accordingly admitted, soon became predominant. The duke of Somerset was seized in the queen's chamber, and committed to the Tower (139). The duke of York was appointed to hold a parliament, which was to meet at Westminster, February 14, by a commission under the great seal, dated February 13 (140). An accusation against the duke of Somerset was presented to the house of peers, but not prosecuted, which was probably owing to the shortness of the session and multiplicity of business (141). Cardinal John Kemp, archbishop of Canterbury and chancellor of England, having died in the mean time, a deputation was sent from the house of Lords to the king at Windsor, to know his pleasure concerning the persons who were to fill these two high offices. The deputies on their return reported to the house, March 25, " That they had been " to wait on the king at Windsor ; and after three several repairs thither, and earnest solicitations to speak " with the king, they could by no means have any answer, or token of answer, being only told the king " was sick." The parliament (in which the York party prevailed) having sufficient evidence of the king's incapacity for government, made an act appointing Richard duke of York protector of the kingdom during the king's pleasure, or till prince Edward came to years of discretion ; and this act was confirmed by a commission under the great seal, April 3 (142). At the same time the earl of Salisbury, the chief confident of the duke of York, was made chancellor (143). The duke of Somerset was deprived of the government of Calais, which was grant-

(139) Hall, f. 85. (140) Rym. Fœd. tom. II. p. 344.

(141) Stow, p. 397.

(142) Rym. Fœd. tom. II. p. 346.

(143) Id. *ibid.* p. 345.

A. D. 1455. ed. to the duke of York, July 28, for seven years, with a power to appoint all his officers (144).

Duke of
York de-
prived of
the pro-
tectorship.

As long as the king continued ill and incapable of business, and the duke of Somerset a prisoner in the Tower, the queen was constrained to remain quiet, and allow the duke of York to manage all affairs, as protector of the kingdom. This seems to have lulled that prince asleep, and to have made him imagine he was in no danger of losing his power. But he was soon undeceived: for the king having recovered his health in some measure, about the beginning of this year, at the instigation of the queen, revoked the duke of York's commission of protector, and took the reins of government into his own hands, or rather put them into the hands of his active ambitious consort. One of the first effects of this revolution, was the deliverance of the duke of Somerset from his confinement in the Tower of London, February 5 (145).

Arbitration.

The animosity between the dukes of York and Somerset was now become so violent, that it threatened the kingdom with an immediate civil war. To prevent this, several great men interposed, and prevailed upon the two enraged dukes, on March 4, to submit the determination of all their disputes to certain arbitrators, mutually chosen, who were to give in their verdict before June 20 (146). But this pacific scheme proved abortive, and this quarrel was sooner decided in another way.

First battle
of St. Al-
bans.

The king after his recovery, or rather the queen and Somerset, not contented with depriving the duke of York of the protectorship, deprived him soon after of the government of Calais, though he had a grant of it under the privy seal for seven years (147). The duke, enraged at this last injury, gave up all thoughts of a reconciliation with Somerset, retired into Wales, and raised an army among his friends and vassals in that country; and being joined by the duke of Norfolk, the earls of Salisbury and Warwick, the lord Cobham, &c. with their followers, he marched towards London. On the other side, the dukes of Somerset and Buckingham, the earls

(144) *Id. ibid.* p. 351. (145) *Rym. Fæd. tom. 11. p. 361, 362.*

(146) *Id. ibid.* p. 362, 363.

(147) *Rym. Fæd. tom. 11. p. 351. 363.*

of Northumberland, Stafford, Dorset, Pembroke, and ^{A.D. 1455.} other lords of the Lancastrian party, having raised an army, marched, with the king at their head, from Westminster, May 21, encamped that night at Watford, and next morning took possession of St. Alban's. On the evening of the same day, the duke of York encamped at Keyfield, in the neighbourhood of that town, and next morning, May 23, drew up his army in order of battle. Having received a disdainful answer to a respectful message he had sent to the king, he assaulted the town in several places with great fury, and for some time met with a vigorous resistance. But the earl of Warwick having forced his way into Holywell-street, and admitted the duke with the bravest of his followers, a fierce conflict ensued, in which many fell on both sides. At length, the duke of Somerset, the earls of Northumberland and Stafford, the lord Clifford, and several other persons of distinction, being killed, and the king, the duke of Buckingham, the earl of Dorset, the lord Sudly, and many others, wounded, the royalists fled or surrendered, and the Yorkists obtained a complete victory (148).

On this occasion the duke of York acted with uncommon temper and moderation. Being informed that the king was wounded, and had taken shelter in a tanner's house, he, with the earl of Salisbury waited upon him, and, falling upon their knees, declared themselves his most loyal subjects, ready to obey his commands. Henry's terrors being a little dispelled by this declaration, he intreated them to put a stop to the pursuit and slaughter; with which they immediately complied (149). Whether this extraordinary moderation of the duke of York was the effect of his natural disposition, or proceeded from political considerations, may be a little doubtful; though its uniformity through the whole of this contest makes it probable that it was natural. Many conquerors would have made a very different use of such a victory. The duke conducted the king to London, May 24, treating him with every mark of submission and respect.

Moderation
of the duke
of York.

(148) T. Wethamstede, torn. 2: p. 353—357. Stow. p. 399.

(149) Hall, f. 86. Stow, p. 400.

A. D. 1455. The victorious party pursued the same moderate measures in a parliament which met at Westminster July 9. The duke of York contented himself with procuring an act of indemnity for himself, and all who had appeared with him in arms against the king at the battle of St. Albans. All the prelates and peers of both parties renewed their oaths of fealty to the king; and the session ended, July 31, with a declaration of the innocence of the late duke of Gloucester, a general pardon, and a prorogation to November 12 (150). During this interval the duke of York managed all affairs, and did not neglect to bestow several honourable and lucrative offices on his friends, particularly the government of Calais on the earl of Warwick (151). When the parliament met again, November 12, the king being in a languishing state, and incapable of business, the house of peers, at the earnest request of the commons, petitioned the king to appoint a protector of the kingdom. In compliance with this petition, the king constituted Richard duke of York protector and defender of the kingdom, till prince Edward came to years of discretion, or till his commission was revoked by the king, with the consent of the lords spiritual and temporal in parliament. This commission was confirmed in parliament, November 19; and by virtue of another commission, the duke prorogued the parliament from 12th December to 24th January, A. D. 1456 (152).

A. D. 1456. As this commission could not be revoked without the consent of the house of peers, at whose request it had been given, the duke of York imagined that he was now firmly fixed in the protectorship. But he soon found that he was mistaken. The queen, who dreaded to see a prince who had such pretensions to the crown in possession of so much power, laboured, by every insinuating seductive art, to gain a majority of the lords to consent to the revocation of the duke's commission. Having succeeded in this, the king came into the house of peers,

(150) Parl. Hist. v. 2. p. 278. 280. J. Wethamstede, tom. 2. p. 365—377.
 (151) Hall, f. 87.
 (152) Rym. Fœd. tom. 11. p. 369, 370.


February 25, and declared, that he was in perfect health, and that there was now no need of a physician; he therefore requested their consent to revoke the Duke of York's commission; which was granted (153). A.D. 1456.

The duke of York, chagrined to see himself thus outwitted by a woman, and unexpectedly deprived of all his power, left the court, and retired, with the earls of Salisbury and Warwick, into Yorkshire, where they had frequent meetings and consultations. The queen was not ignorant of those meetings; and, dreading their consequences, she formed a plot to ensnare her three most formidable enemies at once, and get them into her power. As London was not a proper place for executing her design, she conducted the king towards Coventry, under the pretence of giving him the country air and exercise, for the benefit of his health. When the court arrived at Coventry, the king wrote in the most pressing terms, to the duke of York, the earls of Salisbury and Warwick, to come and attend a council on affairs of the greatest moment. These noblemen, apprehending no danger, set out on their journey with a moderate retinue; but when they approached the city, having received a message from a secret friend at court, charging them not to enter Coventry, but to fly for their lives, they turned, and fled different ways with great precipitation. The duke of York took shelter in his castle of Wigmore, the earl of Salisbury in his castle of Middleham in Yorkshire, and the earl of Warwick at Calais (154). The dispersion of these noblemen produced a temporary calm, and the court returned to Westminster.

As the English had taken advantage of the violent factions which raged in France in the reign of Charles VI. so the French were disposed to take advantage of the no less violent factions which now prevailed in England. But their own wounds were not yet so well healed, as to enable them to inflict very deep ones on their enemies. The marshal de Brezé landed 4000 men, August 28, near Sandwich; and, after a long and bloody conflict, got possession of the place, plundered it, and immediately re-embarked his troops, not daring to remain on A.D. 1457.
The French
invade Eng-
land.

(153) Rym. Fœd. tom. xi. p. 373.

(154) Stow, p. 492. Hall, f. 28.

A.D. 1458.  shore so much as one night (155). About the same time a body of Britons landed in Cornwall, plundered a few villages, and re-embarked with equal precipitation (156).

Seeming
coalition of
parties.

The archbishop of Canterbury, with several other prelates and great men, alarmed at these attempts of foreign enemies, and still more at the discord which reigned amongst the nobility at home, laboured earnestly to put an end to that discord, and bring about a coalition of parties. The king entered warmly into this scheme; and messengers were sent with letters to all the great men of both parties, requiring and entreating them to come to London for that most necessary purpose. Neither of the two parties were at this time so predominant as to dare to disobey so reasonable a requisition. They came therefore from all quarters, but full of mutual distrust and hatred, attended by numerous retinues of armed men. The duke of York, the earls of Salisbury and Warwick, with the chief men of their party, were lodged in London, where they were secured from danger by the favour of the citizens, and the vigilance of Sir Godfrey Bollen lord mayor (who patrolled the streets every night with a great body of armed men), as well as by their own followers. The noblemen of the court-party were lodged in Westminster and the suburbs of London. After several conferences, a seeming reconciliation was concluded, and drawn up in the form of a decree, pronounced by the king, March 24, as arbitrator between the two parties (157). To render this reconciliation more conspicuous, there was a solemn procession of both parties, on the day after, to St Paul's church, the duke of York leading the queen, and one of his party walking hand in hand with one of the other party, with all the external appearances of the most perfect cordiality (158). But it was soon discovered that these appearances were deceitful.

Riot in
London.

Soon after this procession, the duke of York and the earl of Salisbury retired to York, and the earl of Warwick to his government of Calais; from whence he was recalled in the month of July, to answer to certain complaints made against him by the merchants of Lu-

(155) Monstrelet, t. 3. f. 21.

(156) Hall, f. 88. (157) J. Wethamstede, p. 419—448.

(158) Stow, p. 404. Hall, f. 98.

beck (159). While he was in London attending this business, as he returned from court, September 9, he was in great danger of being killed in a fray that arose between some of the king's servants and some of his retinue. With great difficulty he made his way to the river, got into his barge, and escaped to London (160). The earl, and almost all the world, believed that this was a plot formed against his life, by the queen and the young duke of Somerset; he complained loudly of it as a flagrant violation of the late agreement, and hastened into the north to consult with his father and the duke of York. In this consultation it was determined to be upon their guard, to put no trust in the most solemn engagements of their enemies, and to depend upon their own strength and courage for their safety. About the end of the year the earl of Warwick returned to Calais (161).

The earl of Salisbury, having made fruitless applications to court for the punishment of those who had insulted his son, the earl of Warwick, in London, collected his friends and vassals in the north, and marched with them towards Wales, to join the duke of York, who was raising his forces in those parts, according to the concerted plan. But he was interrupted in his march by the lord Audley, who placed himself directly in his way, on Bloreheath, on the borders of Staffordshire and Shropshire, September 22, at the head of 10,000 men, which he had raised in Cheshire, and the parts adjacent, where the Lancastrian interest prevailed. The earl of Salisbury, whose forces did not exceed 5000, supplied his want of strength by a stratagem. The two armies being encamped on the opposite banks of a narrow, but deep and rapid rivulet, he drew up his archers as near the brink as possible, on Sunday morning, September 23, and gave them directions to discharge a flight of arrows against their enemies, and then retire in seeming disorder. Lord Audley, deceived by these appearances, passed the rivulet, and his principal officers, in great haste and little order. In this situation, before one half of their troops had joined them, they were attacked with great fury by their enemies, and, after a fierce conflict, defeated; the lord Audley, with 2400 of his men, remaining dead on the field (162).

A. D. 1453

A. D. 1459.

Battle of
Bloreheath.

(159) Rym. Fœd. tom. 11. p. 415. Stow, p. 404.

(160) Id. ibid.

(161) Hall, f. 90, 91.

(162) Stow, p. 405. Hall, f. 91. J. Wethamsted, p. 452.

A. D. 1459. The earl of Salisbury, after his victory, proceeded on his march, and joined the duke of York at Ludlow; where the earl of Warwick soon after arrived from Calais, with a body of choice troops, commanded, under him, by two renowned warriors, Sir Andrew Trollop and Sir John Blunt. The king, queen, and court lords, having raised an army, advanced to meet their enemies, and encamped at Ludford, near Ludlow, October 13, designing to give battle next day. But, in the mean time, an unexpected event happened, which prevented an action, and produced one of those sudden, surprising revolutions, which were so frequent in this period. The duke of York, in all his contests with the court, professed the greatest loyalty to the king, and carefully concealed his design to seize the crown, which was known only to a few of his special confidants. This important secret was, either by the duke himself, or some of his confidants, communicated to Sir Andrew Trollop: who being really attached to the house of Lancaster, deserted to the king with the troops under his command, in the night of October 13. Several others, induced by a proclamation of pardon from the king, discovered a disposition to imitate their example, or at least to depart to their own homes. The duke of York, and his chief friends, struck with consternation, and not knowing whom to trust, determined to save themselves by flight. The duke, with his second son, the earl of Rutland, fled through Wales into Ireland. His eldest son, the earl of March, with the earls of Salisbury and Warwick, made their escape into Devonshire, and from thence to Calais, where they landed November 2 (163). In this manner, the lately-triumphant Yorkists were dispersed, and seemingly ruined, in a moment, and without a blow.

Parliament. To push this unexpected advantage as far as possible, a kind of packed parliament was summoned to meet at Coventry, November 20; in which the duke of York, with his two sons, Edward earl of March and Edmund earl of Rutland, the earls of Salisbury and Warwick, the lord Clinton, and many knights and gentlemen,

(163) J. Wethamstede, p. 459—462. Hall, f. 92. Hollingh. p. 1297.

were attainted as traitors, and their estates confiscated (164). A. D. 1459.

But this gale of prosperity was of short duration ; and another of those surprising changes of fortune, which were so frequent in this memorable contest between the houses of York and Lancaster, and give this period of our history so much the air of a romance, very soon took place. The queen, determined to destroy all the friends of the family of York, persuaded the king to send commissioners into those parts of the kingdom where they most abounded, to try and punish all who had been concerned in any of the late insurrections. This excited the most terrible alarms, and made the people look around them for protection from impending ruin. The people of Kent, who were particularly obnoxious, sent messengers to the lords at Calais, earnestly intreating them to come over, and promising that the whole county would join them on their landing. These lords, burning with the most ardent desires to retrieve their losses and take vengeance on their enemies, joyfully accepted of the invitation, and landed at Sandwich with only 1500 of their followers. They were immediately joined by the lord Cobham, with 4000 well-armed troops ; and so general was the rising in their favour, that they entered London, July 2, with an army of 40,000 men (165). A. D. 1460.
Yorkists return into
England.

In the mean time, the queen, with those lords and gentlemen who adhered to the house of Lancaster, having collected an army at Coventry (which was then called the queen's chamber), marched towards London. But their enemies saved them the trouble of so long a march : for the earls of March and Warwick, with the lords Cobham and Bourchier, at the head of 25,000 of their best troops, departed from London to meet them ; and the two armies came in sight of each other, July 10, near Northampton ; where a bloody battle was fought, in which the Yorkists obtained a complete victory. The duke of Buckingham, who commanded the royal army, the earl of Shrewsbury, the lords Beaumont and Egermont, with many knights and gentlemen, were killed ; Battle of
Northampton.

(164) Parliament. Hist. v. 2. p. 289, &c. Wethamstede, p. 462—472. Rym. Fœd. tom. 11. p. 455.

(165) J. Wethamstede, p. 478. Stow, p. 308. Hall, f. 94.

A.D. 1466. as the commanders on the other side had given particular directions to their soldiers to spare none of the nobility or gentry. The queen, with her son the prince of Wales, fled with only a few persons in their company; and after skulking for some time in different places, they took shelter in Scotland; where they arrived in a very wretched condition, having been robbed of their money and baggage by the way (166).

The king
conducted
to London.

After the battle, the victorious earls found the king in his tent almost alone, treated him with great respect, and carried him in a kind of procession into Northampton. Having rested, and refreshed their troops in that place three days, they set out on their return to London, entered that capital in triumph, July 16, and lodged the king in the bishop's palace (167). This contest seemed now to be at an end; the chief supporters of the house of Lancaster being killed or taken prisoners, the queen, with her son, expelled the kingdom, and the weak, unhappy Henry in the hands of his enemies. But torrents of blood were yet to flow before it was determined; owing, on the one hand, to the political timidity of the duke of York, and, on the other, to the activity and undaunted spirit of queen Margaret.

Parliament.

Immediately after the victory at Northampton, messengers were sent into Ireland, to inform the duke of York of the success of his friends, and intreat him to return to England. In the mean time, his party being in possession of all the power of the king, as well as of his person, did not neglect to employ it for the benefit of themselves and their friends; though they paid more regard to justice than is commonly done on similar occasions (168). They issued writs in the king's name, July 30, for a parliament to meet at Westminster, October 7, directed to all the peers of both parties, without distinction, and permitted the members of the house of commons to be elected according to law (169). Two days after the meeting of parliament, the duke of York reached London, rode through the city in great state,

(166) J. Wethamstede, p. 480. Hall, f. 94. Stow, p. 409.

(167) J. Wethamstede, p. 480. Hall, f. 94. Stow, p. 409.

(168) Rym. Fœd. tem. 10. p. 459, 460.

(169) Cotton Abridg. p. 665.

alighted at Westminster-hall, and went directly to the house of peers; where, standing under the royal canopy, he laid his right hand on the cushion, and seemed to expect an invitation to place himself in the throne. In this he was disappointed. A solemn silence reigned in the house for some moments. At length, the archbishop of Canterbury asked him, if he would go with him, and wait upon the king; to which the duke, in great agitation, replied,—“ I know no person to whom I owe that mark of respect, which is more justly due to myself from all others;” and then hurried out of the house (170).

The duke of York having made this discovery of his design to claim the crown, did not affect to keep it any longer a secret. A few days after (October 16), he, by his counsel, gave in to both houses a formal claim of the crown, with his pedigree on which that claim was founded, deriving his descent from Lionel duke of Clarence, third son of Edward III. and elder brother to John of Gaunt, duke of Lancaster, from whom Henry VI. was descended. This claim and pedigree (which was perfectly clear and well authenticated) was laid before the king; whose counsel, a few days after, presented arguments in support of his title, and objections to the claim of the duke of York; which were communicated to that prince, and answered in his name. This great cause, having been thus pleaded by the parties, was debated several days in parliament; and, as it is said, with great freedom: one party supporting the title of the house of Lancaster, on the grounds of—parliamentary settlements—long possession—and frequent oaths of fealty; the other contending for the superior right of the house of York, as descended from the eldest branch of the royal family. After long and warm debates, the following compromise was proposed, adopted, and formed into an act of parliament, November 1, viz. that Henry shall continue king during his life, and,—That the duke of York, or his heir, shall succeed to the crown on Henry's death. Many other stipulations were added, to secure

(170) The above account of this transaction is taken from J. Wethamsted, abbot of St. Alban's (who was probably present), and is more worthy of credit than the accounts of later historians.

A. D. 1460. the success of this scheme (171). But contests for a crown are not so easily compromised; and though this arrangement seemed to satisfy both, it in reality satisfied neither of the contending parties. The late parliament at Coventry, which had attained the duke of York and his friends, was declared to have been no lawful parliament, and all its acts rescinded (172).

The two roses.

The calm produced by the above compromise was very short, and many circumstances portended an approaching storm. The whole nation was now divided into two parties; the one distinguished by the red rose, the badge of the house of Lancaster, the other by the white rose, the badge of the house of York. Two historians, who flourished in those unhappy times, have drawn a most affecting picture of the distracted state of the country, and the violent animosity of the two parties (173). The chief strength of the Lancastrian party lay in the north, and of the York party in London, the south of England, and marches of Wales: though both had partizans in every corner of the kingdom, and frequently in the same family.

The queen invades England.

The king, or rather the duke of York in his name, sent a requisition to the queen to return to court with her son prince Edward. But that princess had other designs in view. She had met with a kind reception in Scotland; the young king, James III. being nearly related to the family of Lancaster. Many martial adventurers of that nation espoused her cause, and she was there joined by the dukes of Somerset and Exeter, and other fugitives of her party; who being united, formed a small army, with which she entered England. The earls of Northumberland and Westmoreland, with the other barons, knights, and gentlemen of the northern counties, crowded to her standard, and she soon saw herself at the head of an army of 20,000 men; with which she marched southward (174).

Battle of Wakefield.

The duke of York, receiving intelligence of this invasion, committed the custody of the king's person, and

(171) Wethamstede, p. 484, &c. Stow, p. 409.

(172) Statutes, 39 Hen. VI.

(173) Wethamstede, p. 492. Contin. Hist. Croyl. p. 529.

(174) Hall, f. 95. Hollingsh. p. 1303.

the guard of the city, to the duke of Norfolk and the earl of Warwick; sent his eldest son, Edward, into the marches of Wales, to raise an army; and then, December 2, set out from London, attended by his second son, Edmund earl of Rutland, and his friend the earl of Salisbury, with a small body of troops. He proceeded northward, by easy marches, to give his friends an opportunity of joining him; and when he reached Wakefield, December 24, his army amounted to 5000 men. There he received the disagreeable news, that the queen was approaching with an army four times the number of his; which obliged him to conduct his troops into his castle of Sandal, where he was besieged. He probably designed to remain on the defensive, till he was joined by his son the earl of March; but either want of provisions,—too great confidence in the courage of his troops,—or the insults of the besiegers, made him change his mind, and resolve to give the enemy battle, contrary (it is said) to the advice of his two great confidants, the earl of Salisbury and Sir David Hall (175). Accordingly he drew up his little army in order of battle, on the morning of December 30, and marched down the hill towards the enemy. The duke of Somerset, who commanded the queen's army, had advanced the earl of Wiltshire, with a body of troops on one wing, and the lord Clifford on the other, with orders to lie concealed till the battle began, and then to attack the flanks and rear of the enemy. The duke of York attacked the main body, commanded by the duke of Somerset, with great fury; but was instantly surrounded, and in half an hour he and 2800 of his men were killed, and almost all the rest taken prisoners (176).

The queen and her partisans were immoderately elated with this victory, and made a cruel use of it, imagining that it was decisive. The lord Clifford murdered in cold blood, on the bridge of Wakefield, the earl of Rutland, a young prince of exquisite beauty and great hopes. The same ferocious baron, having found the body of the duke of York on the field, cut off the head, put it on a

A. D. 1461.
Cruelties of
the queen's
followers.

(175) Hall, f. 98, 99.

(176) Wethamsted, p. 489. Contin. Hist. Croyl. p. 550. Hall, f. 99. Stow, p. 412.

A. D. 1461. spear, and presented it to the queen, who commanded it, with a paper crown upon it, to be placed on the walls of York (177). The earl of Salisbury was taken prisoner, and, with several knights and gentlemen, sent to Pomfret, and there beheaded, without trial, and without mercy. The queen's army consisted chiefly of the borderers of both nations, who had been allured to her standard by the promise of permission to plunder all the country beyond Trent. This permission they now used, and marked their way with desolation as they advanced southward, plundering, and often burning churches, monasteries, and private houses, without distinction (178).

Battle of
Mortimer's
cross.

Edward earl of March was at Gloucester when he received the melancholy tidings of his father's death, and the destruction of his army. Though he was much afflicted at the loss of so good a parent, and so many friends, he was not dispirited, but marched immediately to Shrewsbury, at the head of 23000 men, to meet the queen and her victorious army. Here he received intelligence, that Jasper Tudor, earl of Pembroke, uterine brother to king Henry, and the earls of Wiltshire and Ormond, were following him with a considerable army of Welsh and Irish; which determined him to turn back to encounter these enemies in the first place. The two armies met, February 2, at Mortimer's cross, near Hereford, where a bloody battle was fought, in which the earl of March, now duke of York, obtained a complete victory. The two earls made their escape, leaving 3800 of their men dead on the field; but Sir Owen Tudor, father to the earl of Pembroke, with several other knights and gentlemen, were taken and beheaded, according to the barbarous practice of both parties in this cruel contest (179).

Second battle of St.
Alban's.

The queen was on her march to London when she received the news of this defeat of her friends; and though she was much dejected by it, she determined to proceed, in hopes of getting possession of the capital, and

(177) Wethamstede, a contemporary writer, says the duke of York was taken alive, and beheaded on the field of battle. J. Wetham, p. 489.

(178) *Ibid.* p. 495. Continuation. Hist. Cryst. p. 531.

(179) Hall, f. 100. Hollingb. p. 1304. Stow, p. 413.

of the king's person, before the young duke of York A. D. 1461. could come to their relief. But when she reached St. Alban's, she found the duke of Norfolk and the earl of Warwick, with the king in their company, and a numerous army, ready to obstruct her progress. On the morning of Shrove-Tuesday, February 17, the queen's troops attempted to force their way through the town of St. Alban's; but were repulsed, with considerable loss, by a strong body of archers posted in the market-place; which obliged them to turn up a lane, through which, after a sharp conflict, they gained the open fields. Here they found the main body of the enemy ready to receive them, and a fierce action immediately commenced. The victory for some time remained doubtful; but the lord Lovelace, who commanded the Kentish men, either through cowardice or treachery, turning his back, the whole army fell into disorder. The duke of Norfolk and the earl of Warwick, knowing that immediate death would be the consequence of their being taken, made their escape, and left the queen in possession of the field. Thus three pitched battles, all of them very bloody, were fought in less than two months, of which we have few examples in history.

At the beginning of the battle, the king was left in his tent, under the care of lord Bonville, who would have made his escape, but was persuaded by the king to stay with him, upon his royal promise for his safety. But he was beheaded after the battle, without the least regard to the king's promise, the laws of war, or the dictates of humanity. Henry was conducted to lord Clifford's tent, where he had a tender interview with his queen and son. At the queen's desire, he knighted the prince of Wales, with thirty young noblemen and gentlemen, who had distinguished themselves in the preceding action (180). The queen recovers her husband.

If the queen could have marched to London immediately after the victory at St. Alban's, she might perhaps have obtained admittance. But this was not in her power. Her troops, in opposition to the most peremptory commands, spent several days in plundering St. The queen returns into the north.

A D. 1461. Alban's, and the adjacent country, and pushed their ravages to the very gates of the city. This gave the citizens time to recover from their consternation, and inspired them with a resolution to expose themselves to any danger, rather than admit such savage plunderers. They even stopped a few waggons loaded with provisions, which the magistrates sent to the queen at her desire. Despairing, therefore, of gaining the capital, upon receiving intelligence that the duke of York was advancing at the head of a superior army, she was obliged to relinquish all the advantages of her victory, and retire with her army into the north (181).

Accession of
Edward IV.

The earl of Warwick, after his defeat, collected the remains of his scattered troops, and joined the duke of York at Chipping-Norton; which rendered the army of that prince superior to that of his enemies, and encouraged him to advance with a design to give them battle. But finding that they had decamped, instead of pursuing them, he proceeded to the capital, into which he entered, February 28, amidst the loudest acclamations of the citizens; and on the following days, great crowds of people from Kent, Essex, and the neighbouring counties, came to the city to join his standard. Edward wisely determined to improve the present favourable opportunity. His army being mustered in St. John's fields, on Sunday March 2, and a prodigious multitude of the citizens come out to view it, the lord Fauconbridge, who superintended the muster, took an opportunity to harangue the people, —on the unfitness of king Henry for government, —on the misfortunes of his reign, —and on his violation of the late solemn agreement, by attempting to deprive the duke of York of the succession; and concluded with asking them, if they would have Henry to reign over them any longer? on which they cried out, No! no! He then asked them, if they would have Edward duke of York for their king? To which they answered in the affirmative, with the loudest acclamations; and sent a deputation to Edward, to beseech him to assume the government. A great council was assembled next day, of all the prelates, nobles, chief magistrates,

(181) J. Wethamstedc, p. 503—508. Hall, f. 100. Stow, p. 414

and principal gentlemen in and about London; to which Edward, in person, explained his title to the crown, and insisted on that article of the late solemn agreement, by which it was stipulated, "That if king Henry attempted in any way to break the said agreement, the crown should immediately devolve to the duke of York or his heirs;" and then left the council to consider what he had represented. The council, after a short deliberation, unanimously agreed, "That Henry of Lancaster had forfeited his right to enjoy the crown during his life; and that it was now devolved to Edward duke of York;" and concluded with entreating him to accept of that crown which was his undoubted right. Edward, after a short apology for his youth and inexperience, complied with their request. On Tuesday, March 4, the young king (for so he was now called) went in procession to St. Paul's, where *Te Deum* was sung; from thence he proceeded to Westminster-hall; where, being seated on the throne, with the sceptre in his hand, he received the homage of the great men who were present. He was then conducted into the church, seated in the king's seat, and offered at the shrine of St. Edward (182).

Thus ended the inglorious unhappy reign of Henry VI. who lost all the conquests of his illustrious father, and the hereditary dominions of his family in France, and at last the crown of England. His personal appearance was mean, his countenance melancholy and unmeaning, bearing little or no resemblance to the handsome, strong, and active Henry V. and the beautiful queen Katharine. But the weakness of his understanding, and the facility of his temper, were his most fatal defects; the one rendering him quite unfit for holding the reins of government himself, the other making him a passive instrument in the hands of those by whom he was surrounded. In private life, he was harmless and inoffensive, devout (according to the mode of those times), chaste, temperate, humble in prosperity, and patient in

Character
of Henry
VI.

(182) J. Wethamstede, p. 509—514. Continuat. Hist. Croyl. p. 532. Hall, f. 101. Stow, p. 415.

A. D. 1461. adversity : but the weakness of his understanding degraded all his virtues. In a word, Henry VI. was much fitter for a monk than for a monarch, and would have made a better figure in a cloister than in a court (183). But that insignificance which lost him his crown saved his life ; for when he fell into the hands of his successor, he permitted him to live, not thinking his death necessary to his own security.

Henry VI. Henry VI. cannot be considered as an usurper ; **no usurper.** and the defence which he made for himself, when he was accused of that crime in the tower, seems to be satisfactory : “ My father (said he) and grandfather were “ kings of England ; I was enthroned when I was an “ infant, crowned when I was a child, received the voluntary homage of all my subjects, and enjoyed “ the royal authority, unchallenged, almost forty “ years (184).” He reigned thirty-eight years and six months. His only child, Edward prince of Wales, was now in the seventh year of his age. We shall afterwards hear of his unhappy fate.

SECTION IV.

From the accession of Edward IV. A. D. 1461, to the accession of Edward V. A. D. 1483.

A. D. 1461. **E**DWARD IV. was in the bloom of youth, being hardly nineteen years of age, when he ascended the throne of England ; beautiful in his person, engaging in his deportment, excelling in all manly exercises, brave, active, and even prudent beyond his years. Instead of spending his time in vain amusements, he applied to business with so much ardour, that the first division of his

Edward marches into the north.

(183) See John Blackman, De Virtutibus Henrici VI. Apud Otterbourne et Wetherstede. edit. Oxon. 1732. v. 1. p. 287—306.

(184) Id. ibid. p. 305.

army, conducted by the earl of Warwick, left London, A. D. 1451.
 March 7; and, five days after, he followed with the
 rest of his forces. On that same day, he gave a speci-
 men of that cruelty which afterwards stained his charac-
 ter, by ordering the execution of one Walter Walker, a
 grocer, for having spoken contemptuously of his title to
 the crown. His army increased as he advanced; and
 when he reached Pomfret, March 27, he found himself
 at the head of a gallant army, of between 40,000 and
 50,000 men (1).

Queen Margaret, and the nobles of her party, after Battle of
Towton.
 their return into the north, had been very active in re-
 cruiting their army, which now lay at York, and amount-
 ed to 50,000 men. The duke of Somerset was appoint-
 ed commander in chief; who, leaving the king, queen,
 and prince of Wales, with a proper guard, at York,
 marched out to meet the enemy, March 28. On that
 day, the pass at Ferrybridge was eagerly disputed by ad-
 vanced parties of both armies; and, after two bloody
 skirmishes, was secured by the Yorkists, who there pass-
 ed the river Arc. Early in the morning of Palm Sun-
 day, March 29, these two mighty armies, inflamed with
 the most violent animosity against one another, were
 drawn up in order of battle on the fields between the
 two villages Saxton and Towton, about ten miles south
 of York. Edward issued orders to his troops to take
 no prisoners, and give no quarter; nor is it improbable
 that the orders on the other side were in the same sangui-
 nary strain. The action began at nine in the morning,
 in the midst of a heavy shower of snow, which was
 blown with great violence in the faces of the Lancastrians,
 and prevented them from seeing the enemy distinctly, or
 judging rightly of their distance. The lord Faucon-
 bridge, taking advantage of this circumstance, com-
 manded his archers to advance briskly a few paces, and
 shoot their slight arrows with all their force, and then
 fall back. These arrows, being light, reached the
 Lancastrians, and made them almost empty their quivers
 at too great a distance. The Yorkists then advanced;
 and, pouring in showers of arrows upon their enemies,
 did great execution, and made them rush on to a close

(1) J. Wethamsted, p. 515. Stow, p. 415. Hall, Hen. VI. f. 102.

A.D. 1461. engagement, with swords, spears, battle-axes, and other instruments of death. The conflict now became general, fierce, and bloody, and so continued between four and five hours, victory sometimes seeming to incline to the one side, and sometimes to the other. At length, towards evening, the Lancastrians began to recoil; and, being hard pressed, they broke, and fled on all sides, and were pursued with great slaughter. This was one of the most bloody battles that ever was fought in Britain. Those who were employed to number and bury the dead (as we are told by a contemporary writer who lived near the scene of action), declared, that their number amounted to 38,000 (2). Amongst these were many persons of rank and fortune; as the earls of Northumberland, Westmoreland, and Shrewsbury; the lords Clifford, Beaumont, Nevil, Willoughby, Wells, Roos, Scales, Grey, Dacres, and Molineux; besides a prodigious number of knights and gentlemen (3). This was the fourth pitched battle fought in less than three months in England, in which above 60,000 of her bravest sons perished; among whom were several princes of the blood, and many of the prime nobility.

Henry flies
into Scot-
land.

The dukes of Somerset and Exeter, when they saw that all was lost, rode full speed to York, attended by several lords and gentlemen; and, taking with them the king, queen, and prince of Wales, fled into Scotland; and never thought themselves safe till they had reached the capital of that kingdom (4).

Executi-
ons.

Edward, not fatiated with all the blood that had been spilt in battle, caused much noble blood to be shed on the scaffold. The earl of Devonshire and Sir W. Hill, being taken in their flight, were beheaded at York, and their heads set up on the walls of that city; from which those of the duke of York and the earl of Salisbury were taken down. The earl of Ormond and Wiltshire was beheaded at Newcastle, and Sir Thomas Fulford at Hexham (5).

(2) Continuat. Hist. Croyl. p. 533.

(3) Stow, p. 415. J. Wethamstede, p. 517. Hall, Hen. VI. f. 101.

(4) Holingsh. p. 1297. Leland's Collectanea, vol. 2. p. 499.

(5) Stow, p. 415.

After celebrating the feast of Easter at York, Edward ^{A. D. 1451.} marched as far north as Newcastle; and having left the earl of Warwick there with a competent force, to keep ^{Edward crowned.} that part of the country in order and subjection, he returned to London, June 26; and three days after he was crowned at Westminster with the usual solemnity (6).

When Henry VI. with his family and friends, arrived in Scotland, they found that kingdom in almost as distracted a condition as that which they had left. James ^{Negotiations in Scotland.} III. was a child of only eight years of age; the regents appointed by parliament were divided into parties; and the whole country was a scene of factions and family feuds. The royal and noble fugitives, however, were kindly received and entertained. Queen Margaret soon contracted a friendship with the queen-mother, Mary of Gelders; by proposing a marriage between the prince of Wales and her eldest daughter, which was concluded. She also gained the favour of the regents, by surrendering to them the town and castle of Berwick, April 25 (7). To counteract these operations of his most active enemy, Edward secretly negotiated an alliance with the potent and turbulent earl of Rofs, and lord of the isles, June 2, and gave the earl of Warwick a commission to treat with the regents of Scotland for a truce, July 18 (8). This prevented a national declaration from Scotland in favour of the exiled family, but did not prevent many individuals of all ranks from espousing their cause.

Edward, determined to secure that crown by law which ^{Parliament} he had gained by arms, issued writs, May 23, summoning a parliament to meet at Westminster, July 6; but the unsettled state of the country, and the dread of an invasion from Scotland, caused it to be prorogued to November 4 (9). So many of the nobility had fallen in battle, or died on the scaffold, or had been driven into exile, that there remained only one duke, four earls, one viscount, and twenty-nine barons, who were summoned to this parliament. Henry IV. was declared to

(6) Hall, Edward IV. f. 1. Holingsh. p. 1313.

(7) Stow, p. 416.

(8) Rym. Fœd. tom. 11. p. 474, 475.

(9) Dugdale's Summons to Parliament, 1 Edw. IV.

A. D. 1461. have been an usurper; the right of Edward IV. to the crown was acknowledged and confirmed; the posterity of Henry of Derby, commonly called Henry IV. were declared incapable of holding any estate or dignity in any part of the English dominions for ever; Henry VI. late king of England, Margaret late queen, Edward called prince of Wales, the dukes of Somerset and Exeter, the earls of Northumberland, Devonshire, and Pembroke, with a prodigious number of lords, knights, and gentlemen, were attainted; the heirs of all those of the York party who had been condemned as traitors by the other party when they were predominant, were restored to the estates and honours of their ancestors; and, in a word, every thing was done the victorious prince thought fit to dictate; for which he gave them many thanks, and made them many promises, in a speech from the throne, at the end of the session (10).

Rewards.

At the conclusion of this session of parliament, in which so many great estates had been forfeited, Edward enriched his friends with the spoils of his enemies; and, to gratify their ambition, he raised some of them to additional honours. His eldest brother George was created duke of Clarence, and his youngest brother Richard, duke of Gloucester; the lord Fauconbridge was made earl of Kent, lord Bourchier, earl of Essex, and Sir John Nevil, brother to the earl of Warwick, was made lord Montacute (11).

A. D. 1462.
Punish-
ments.

Edward was no less attentive to punish his enemies, than to reward his friends. John de Vere, earl of Oxford, with Aubray de Vere, his son, and several knights and gentlemen of the Lancastrian party, were beheaded on Tower-hill, in February A. D. 1462 (12).

Queen
Margaret's
voyage to
France,
and return.

While Edward was thus labouring by all means to fix himself firmly on the throne, his most formidable adversary queen Margaret was labouring with equal ardour to procure forces to pull him down. Finding that she could not bring the regents of Scotland to declare war against Edward, she, with the duke of Somerset, and a small retinue, sailed to the continent, to solicit succours

(10) Parliament. Hist. vol. 2. p. 311—319.

(11) Parliament. Hist. p. 311—319. Hall, Edw. IV. f. r.

(12) Stow, p. 416. Hollingsh. p. 1313.

from the king of France, and her other potent friends. A. D. 1462.
 Though Lewis XI. who had lately mounted the throne of France, was one of the most selfish unfeeling princes that ever lived, he could not refuse a seemingly kind reception to so near a relation in so great distress. But the unhappy queen, after long and earnest solicitations, at last discovered that no effectual succours were to be expected from that quarter; and therefore, having obtained a loan of 20,000 livres, and a small body of troops, commanded by Peter de Brezé, seneschal of Normandy, she sailed for England, and after a very stormy passage arrived off Tinmouth, about the end of this year. Being prevented from landing there, her fleet was overtaken by a storm, many of the ships were put on shore near Bamburgh castle, and that one in which the queen sailed got into Berwick, with great difficulty. The French troops took shelter in Holy Island, and were soon attacked by a superior force, and the greatest part of them killed or taken; but their commander, with some others, made their escape to Berwick (13).

Nothing could appear more desperate than the cause of Henry VI. and his family at this time. A. D. 1463;
Cause of
Henry VI.
desperate. Almost all their powerful friends in England were either killed in battle, put to death on the scaffold, or attainted and banished out of the kingdom. Edward was negotiating truces with the kings of France and Scotland, the only princes from whom they could expect assistance; and there was the greatest probability that these negotiations would succeed (14). Henry duke of Somerset, the nearest relation and greatest support of the house of Lancaster, viewing things in this light, yielded to despair, and made his peace with Edward; and his example was followed by Sir Ralph Percy, and many others (15). In a word, Henry, his queen, and son, were left almost alone at Edinburgh, without friends, without money, and without any probable ground of hope.

But nothing could subdue the active undaunted spirit of queen Margaret. Leaving her husband and son at Queen Mar-
garet's se-

(13) Monstrelet, t. 3. p. 91. Hall, Ed. IV. f. 2. Stow, p. 416.

(14) Rymer, Fed. tom. 11. p. 502—513.

(15) Hall, f. 1. Stow, p. 416.

A.D. 1463. Edinburgh, she sailed from Kircudbright, in Galloway, April 8, with four ships, and, landing in Brittany, obtained a present of 12,000 crowns from that duke (16). From thence she proceeded to the court of France, where she was treated with becoming respect, and stood god-mother to the only son of the duke of Orleans, long afterwards Lewis XII (17). Here, however, she had the mortification to see the ambassadors of king Edward, who were negotiating a truce, well received, and frequently admitted to audiences. The truth is, that Margaret was a very unwelcome guest at the court of France; and, in order to hasten her departure, Lewis, after exacting from her an obligation to deliver up Calais as soon as it was in her power, privately gave her a small body of troops, with which she arrived safe in Northumberland, in the month of October, expecting that the people of that country would take up arms in her favour. But they, observing that she had brought but a small number of auxiliaries from France, in general remained quiet, which obliged her, after taking a few castles, to retire into Scotland, where she spent the winter (18).

Precautions taken by Edward.

Though England enjoyed a kind of peace during the absence of queen Margaret, Edward seems to have been under continual apprehensions of an attack both from France and Scotland. To guard against these attacks, he constituted Sir John Nevile, lately created viscount Montacute, warden of the marches towards Scotland, June 1, with power to array all the men in the northern counties, between sixteen and sixty years of age, to repel any invasion that might be made in those parts (19). In the beginning of August, he gave a commission to the earl of Warwick to guard the sea, with a certain number of ships and men, probably with an intention to intercept queen Margaret in her return (20). When he received intelligence that she had landed in the north, he came with all possible expedition to York; but being there informed that she had retired into Scotland, he returned into the south (21).

A.D. 1464.
Queen

Queen Margaret, being determined to make an effort to recover the crown which she had lost, before the truce

(16) W. Wyrcester, p. 493.

(17) Villar, tom. 16. p. 454.

(19) Rym. Fœd. tom. 11. p. 500.

(21) Id. ibid. p. 510.

(18) W. Wyrcester, p. 493, 494.

(20) Id. ibid. p. 506.

between the two British kingdoms was concluded, collected all the friends of her family who had fled into Scotland, engaged as many of the Scots as she could, by the promise of rewards, and permission to plunder, to enter into her service; and joining all these to her French auxiliaries, formed a considerable army, with which, accompanied by her husband and son, she entered England about the middle of April. Her affairs for some time wore a favourable aspect. The castles of Bamburgh, Dunstanburgh, and Alnwick, were either taken by her troops, or delivered to her by their governors. The duke of Somerset, Sir Ralph Percy, and several others who had made their peace with Edward, on hearing of the queen's successes, flew to her standard with their followers (22).

A. D. 1464.

Margaret
invades
England.

King Edward appears to have been greatly alarmed at the defection of his pretended friends, and the success of his declared enemies. He dispatched the lord viscount Montacute into the north, to raise his forces in those parts, and obstruct the progress of the enemy; and issued a proclamation, commanding every man in England, from sixteen to sixty, to be ready to attend him and march against his enemies at a day's warning (23). Setting out from London, attended by a splendid train of nobility and a powerful army, he reached York towards the end of May (24).

Edward's
fears and
preparati-
ons.

The fears of king Edward, and the hopes of queen Margaret, were both of short duration; and the lord Montacute had the honour to dispel the one, and to destroy the other. He first defeated and killed the brave sir Ralph Percy at Hedgeley-moor, near Wooller, April 25 (25). Having received a reinforcement from the south, he advanced towards the main army of the enemy, encamped on a plain called the Levels, near Hexham, attacked them in their camp, and, after a long and bloody struggle, obtained a complete victory, May 15 (26). King Henry made his escape by the swiftness of his horse, and was conducted into the county of Lancaster, where he was kindly entertained, and long con-

Battles of
Hedgeley-
moor and
Hexham.

(22) Hall, Ed. IV. f. 2. Stow, p. 417.

(23) Rym. Fœd. torn. 11. p. 524.

(24) Id. ibid. p. 524.

(25) Hall, f. 2. Ed. IV.

(26) Hall, f. 2. Ed. IV. W. Worcester, p. 498.

A. D. 1464. cealed, by the friends of his family (27). As a reward for this decisive victory, the lord Montacute was immediately after created earl of Northumberland, and obtained a grant of the forfeited estates of the Percy family (28).

The queen and prince, &c. escape. Queen Margaret, with her son prince Edward, escaped from this fatal battle, but pursued a different route from king Henry, and were received into Bamburgh castle by sir Ralph Gray (29). From thence they soon after embarked, with the duke of Exeter, sir John Fortescue, the famous lawyer, chancellor to king Henry, some ladies, knights, and gentlemen, to the number of about two hundred, and arrived safe at Sluis in Flanders. After visiting the earl of Charolois, descended by his mother from the house of Lancaster, she proceeded to the court of his father Philip the good, duke of Burgundy, the most magnificent prince of his age. Though Philip had long been on ill terms with her and her family, he received the disconsolate queen with the greatest tenderness, entertained her and her friends in the most splendid manner, and having made her many valuable presents, he sent her, under a proper guard, into Lorrain, where she settled, with her son and principal followers, in a castle given her, with the estate annexed to it, by her father Renié, duke of Anjou, and titular king of Naples, Sicily, and Jerusalem (30).

Executions. The battle of Hexham was very fatal to the friends of the house of Lancaster. Besides those who fell in the action, many of them lost their lives on the scaffold. Henry duke of Somerset was taken, and beheaded the day after, at Hexham, with four others; William Taylbois, earl of

(27) Hall, f. 2. (28) Rym. Fœd. tom. 11. p. 524.

(29) If the strange adventure mentioned by Monstrelet, the French historian of those times, ever happened to queen Margaret and her son, it was most probably in their flight from this battle. That writer relates, that the queen and her son, flying from a battle alone, were bewildered in a wood, and fell among a gang of robbers, who plundered them of their money, jewels, and every thing valuable; that the robbers quarrelling and fighting about the division of their booty, the queen and prince fled, but soon after met with another robber, to whom the queen presented the prince, saying, "Behold, my friend, the son of your king, I commit him to your protection;" with which the robber was so much affected, that he conducted them to the sea-coast, from whence they sailed. Monst. tom. 3. p. 96.

(30) W. Wyrcester, p. 497. Monstrelet, tom. 3. p. 96.

Kyme, Thomas lord Roos, Robert lord Hungerford, A.D. 1464. and sir Thomas Fynderne, were taken a few days after the battle, and beheaded at Newcastle; and twelve knights and gentlemen were carried to York, and there executed (31). Many of the fugitives had taken shelter in the castle of Bamburgh, which was besieged by the earls of Warwick and Northumberland. The garrison capitulated in July, and the governor, Sir Ralph Gray, was beheaded at Doncaster (32).

To complete Edward's good fortune, all the castles in the north were reduced in the course of this summer; and a long truce of fifteen years with Scotland was concluded at York, June 1, by which the king of Scots engaged to give no aid or protection to king Henry, his queen, or son, or any of their adherents (33). Edward, having thus reduced the north to a state of perfect tranquillity, returned into the south, by slow journeys, spending the last months of this year at different places by the way (34).

In that interval of tranquillity which Edward enjoyed when queen Margaret was at the court of France, he formed a connection which involved himself, his family, and his subjects, in many calamities. Being young and amorous, he was captivated by the charms of Elizabeth Widville, widow of sir John Grey of Groby, and daughter of Jaqueline de Luxemburgh, duchess of Bedford, by her second husband, Richard Widville, lord Rivers. Having tried all the arts of seduction in vain, he was prompted by the violence of his passion, to marry her privately, at Grafton, May 1, A. D. 1463 (35). Conscious of the imprudence of this step, he kept it a profound secret during the troubles which ensued. These troubles being now over, Edward thought it a proper time to discover the important secret; which he did, at Reading, September 29, this year, when Elizabeth was led to the abbey church of that place, by the duke of Clarence and the earl of Warwick, and there declared queen of England, and received the compliments of all

Truce with
Scotland.

Edward de-
clares his
marriage.

(31) W. Wyrcester, p. 498.

(32) Id. p. 499.

(33) Nicolson's Border-Laws, p. 26. Rym. Fœd. tom. 11. p. 525.

(34) Id. ibid. p. 531—538.

(35) Fragment. ad finem Sproti Chron. p. 293. Fabian, vol. 2. f. 216.

A. D. 1464. the great men who were present (36). The part acted by the earl of Warwick in this solemnity makes it very improbable that he had been employed in negotiating a marriage between Edward and the princess Bona, sister to the queen of France, and that he was enraged at the king for not completing that marriage; though this is asserted by many of our historians, both ancient and modern (37).

Favours
heaped on
the queen's
relations.

The inconveniency of the marriage of a sovereign with one of his own subjects soon appeared on this occasion. The court was immediately crowded with the queen's relations, who ingrossed the royal favour, and obtained every thing their avarice or ambition prompted them to desire. The queen's father was created earl Rivers, appointed treasurer of the exchequer, and constable of England;—her eldest brother, Anthony, was married to the only daughter of Thomas lord Scales, with whom he obtained that title and a great estate;—John, another of her brothers, married the old duchess of Norfolk, a lady of immense fortune;—the daughter and heir of the duke of Exeter, the king's niece, was given in marriage to sir Thomas Grey, one of the queen's sons by her former husband;—five of her sisters were in a short time married to the heirs of five of the greatest families in England (38). Such a prodigious flow of prosperity could hardly fail to render this favourite family a little insolent, and to draw upon them the envy and indignation of those from whom they intercepted the smiles and bounty of their sovereign. But these passions did not appear immediately, nor produce any fatal effect for some time.

A. D. 1465.
Negotiations.

Secure on the side of Scotland by the late truce for fifteen years, Edward laboured to procure similar security from the princes on the continent, that the Lancastrians might not receive aid from any quarter, to enable them to disturb his government: With this view, he sent the great earl of Warwick, at the head of a splendid embassy, in the spring of this year, to negotiate treaties of peace;

(36) W. Wyrcester, p. 500.

(37) Hall, Ed. IV. f. 5. Stow, p. 418. Habington, p. 437. Ho-
lingh. p. 667. Grafton, p. 665. Polyd. Virg. p. 513. Hume, vol. 2.
p. 393. edit. 1762.

(38) Dugdale, vol. 2. p. 231. W. Wyrcester, p. 501—506. Rym.
Fœd. tom. 11. p. 581.

or truces, with the earl of Charolois, the dukes of Burgundy and Brittany, and the king of France, who had all discovered some compassion for the exiled family. But the ambassadors found all these princes so keenly engaged in the war called the *public-good*, that they had little leisure to attend to negotiations; which is probably the reason that the commissions to the same ambassadors were renewed the succeeding year, when short truces were concluded (39).

In the mean time Edward was employed at home in preparing for the coronation of his beloved consort. In honour of that solemnity, he made no fewer than thirty-seven knights of the Bath, on Thursday May 23; among whom were several of the chief nobility. On Friday the queen was met at Shooters-hill by the lord mayor, aldermen, and citizens of London, nobly mounted, and richly dressed, and conducted to the Tower; from whence, on Saturday, she was carried in a horse-litter, preceded by the new-made knights, to Westminster, where she was crowned on Sunday, by the archbishop of Canterbury, with the usual ceremonies (40). After the coronation, magnificent tournaments were held at Westminster several days.

The unhappy Henry VI. after suffering many hardships in his concealment, among the friends of his family, in the counties of Westmoreland and Lancaster, was betrayed by a monk, and apprehended by sir James Harington, as he sat at dinner in Waddington-hall, one day in the month of July. Sir James, with the assistance of some friends, conducted the captive king to London; for which service he received a grant of the forfeited estate of sir Richard Tunstall (41). Henry was met at Islington by his greatest enemy, the earl of Warwick, who commanded his feet to be tied to the stirrups, and in other respects treated him with great indignity (42): a sufficient proof that the earl had as yet no intention of quarrelling with Edward, or of raising Henry again to the throne. In this disgraceful posture the fallen monarch was conducted through the streets of London, after a

A.D. 1465.

Coronation
of the
queen.Henry VI.
taken.

(39) Rym. Fœd. tom. 11. p. 540—543. p. 562—568. W. Wyrcester, p. 503, 504.

(40) W. Wyrcester, p. 501—503.

(41) Rym. Fœd. tom. 11. p. 548. W. Wyrcester, p. 504.

(42) Stow, p. 419.

A. D. 1465. proclamation had been made, that no person should shew him any marks of compassion or respect. When the procession reached Tower-hill, he was compelled to ride three times round the pillory, and then lodged in the Tower, where he was treated with a degree of contempt and cruelty, which to a generous spirit would have been worse than death (43).

**Magnificent
feast.**

George Nevile, chancellor of England, and brother to the earl of Warwick, had been translated, in the summer of this year, from the see of Exeter to that of York, and was enthroned in September, with astonishing expence and pomp. The duke of Gloucester, the king's brother, and almost all the nobility, bishops, and great men of the kingdom, were present at the magnificent feast on that occasion, except the queen's relations; which seems to indicate that a coolness had now commenced between them and the family of the Neviles, to whom Edward owed his crown (44).

A. D. 1466.
**Princess
Elizabeth
born.**

But this coolness had not come to a great height; nor was there as yet any appearance of an open breach between Edward and his powerful benefactors. For the earl of Warwick had the honour to stand godfather to the princess Elizabeth, of whom the queen was delivered, February 11, at Westminster: the duchesses of York and Bedford, the two grandmothers of the royal infant, were the godmothers (45).

**Distress of
the Lancas-
trians.**

While Edward enjoyed the greatest prosperity, and his court was a scene of incessant triumph and festivity, those unhappy noblemen who had followed the fortunes of the house of Lancaster, were reduced to great distress. Philip de Comines, a writer of undoubted credit, asserts, that he had seen Henry Holland duke of Exeter, walking on foot without shoes, and begging his bread from house to house: a strange reverse of fortune for one of the first princes of the blood of England, husband to the eldest sister of the reigning king! The duke of Somerset, and several other great men (as the same author tells us) were in greater misery than common beggars. The duke of Burgundy, when informed of their distress, settled small

(43) *Monstrelet*, tom. 3. p. 119.

(44) *Leland's Collectanea*, vol. 6. p. 2—14.

(45) *W. Wyke*, p. 505.

pensions upon them, barely sufficient for their subsistence (46). A. D. 1466.

The secret jealousy and mutual dislike which had early taken place between the queen's relations and the powerful family of the Neviles, gradually increased, and now began to appear openly. The Widviles viewed the immense wealth, prodigious power, and extensive influence of the three brothers, Richard earl of Warwick and Salisbury, John earl of Northumberland, and George archbishop of York, and chancellor of England, with jealousy and terror, and ardently desired to diminish their wealth, power, and influence, in order to increase their own. By degrees they prevailed upon Edward to enter into their views; and a resolution was formed to bring down the Neviles from that towering pitch of greatness to which they had attained. In consequence of this resolution, the king went to the archbishop of York's house, where that prelate was confined by sickness, June 8, and demanded the seals, which he received, and soon after delivered to the bishop of Bath and Wells (47). In a parliament that was then sitting at Westminster, an act was passed, empowering the king to resume the estates he had given away, (with some exceptions) since his accession to the throne (48). This act (it is said) was chiefly intended against the Neviles, who had obtained grants of several forfeited estates, as a reward for their services in raising the king to the throne. The king immediately resumed two manors, which he had granted to the archbishop of York; but abstained from the further execution of the act against that family for some time.

While these ungenerous attacks were made upon his friends and family, the earl of Warwick was absent on an embassy at the court of France (49). He was received at that court (then at Rouen) with all the honours that could have been paid the greatest monarch. The artful Lewis, who ardently desired an union with the king of England against his mortal enemy the earl of Charolois, to whom he knew Warwick was no friend, met him se-

A. D. 1467.
A tale on
the family
of the Nev-
illes.

Negotiations
of War-
wick in
France.

(46) *Memoirs de Comines*, edit. Brussele, tom. 1. p. 185.

(47) *Rym. Fœd.* tom. 11. p. 578.

(48) *Parliament. Hist.* v. 2. p. 329. W. Worcester, p. 508.

(49) *Rym. Fœd.* tom. 11. p. 578.

A. D. 1467. ven leagues from Rouen, conducted him into that city, with a solemn procession of all the clergy, June 7, entertained him twelve days in the most splendid manner, and made him the most magnificent presents (50). After concluding a truce for eighteen months, the earl returned to England, and arrived in London, July 5, the day on which the parliament was dissolved (51). He was followed into England by the archbishop of Narbonne and the bastard of Bourbon, who made Edward the most tempting offers to engage him to form an alliance with the court of France (52). But these offers came too late, and were rejected.

Philip duke of Burgundy, and his son Charles earl of Charolois, earnestly desired to form a confederacy with England against France. In order to accomplish this, they sent the bastard of Burgundy, in the beginning of June, to the court of England, under the pretence of performing certain feats of arms with Anthony lord Scales, the queen's brother, but in reality to propose a marriage between the earl of Charolois and the lady Margaret, king Edward's sister. Nothing could be more pleasing to Edward than this proposal, as it procured an honourable settlement to a beloved sister, deprived the house of Lancaster of its chief support, and secured a powerful confederate to himself in prosecuting his claims in France. Commissioners were appointed on both sides to settle the terms of the marriage; and in the meantime Philip duke of Burgundy died, and Charles succeeded to all his vast dominions (53). This event made an alliance with that prince still more desirable.

The Nevilles
discontent-
ed.

The earl of Warwick, soon after his return from France, went into the north, in some degree of discontent, which was not diminished by his conversations with his two brothers, particularly with the archbishop of York. It is not, however, probable, that either the earl or his brothers as yet entertained any thoughts of pulling down Edward, and restoring Henry VI. to the throne.

(50) Continuat. of Monstrelet, p. 23.

(51) W. Wyceller, p. 510.

(52) *Ibid.* Rym. Fœd. tom. 11. p. 580.

(53) Monstrelet, tom. 3. p. 129. Rym. Fœd. tom. 11. p. 590.

All preliminaries having been settled by the commissioners, the marriage of the lady Margaret with Charles duke of Burgundy was finally agreed to by Edward, in a great council held at Kingston upon Thames, October 1, to be celebrated as soon as a dispensation could be obtained from the pope. But that proved more difficult than was expected (owing to the influence of the king of France at the court of Rome), and retarded the marriage more than six months (54). At the same time, a treaty of peace, or rather a long truce of thirty years, was concluded between Edward and his future brother-in-law (55). The king, queen, and court, made a progress northward, and celebrated the feast of Christmas at Coventry (56).

A.D. 1467.
Marriage
and peace
with Bur-
gundy.

While the court remained at Coventry, a kind of reconciliation was made between the queen's relations and the Nevile family, by the interposition of some common friends. The archbishop of York had a meeting with earl Rivers, the queen's father, at Nottingham, in which all preliminaries were settled; and the earl of Warwick attended a great council at Coventry, in January, when he was publicly reconciled to the lords Herbert, Stafford, and Audley, who had married the queen's sisters. The king was so well pleased with the part the Archbishop had acted in this affair, that he restored the two manors he had taken from him (57). But it is probable this reconciliation was not very cordial; it is certain it was not very lasting.

A. D. 1468.
Reconcilia-
tion.

No king of England had ever taken so much pains to secure the friendship of foreign princes as Edward IV. Besides the long truce with Scotland, he contracted alliances with the kings of Arragon, Castile, and Denmark, and with the two potent dukes of Burgundy and Brittany (58). In this policy he had these two ends in view—to prevent the house of Lancaster from receiving aid from any of those princes—and to procure their assistance in an attempt he intended to make for the recovery of the English dominions in France. He communicated this intention to a parliament at Westminster, in May, and it

Intended in-
vasion of
France.

(54) W. Wyrcester, p. 511.

(55) Rym. Fœd. t. 11. p. 591.

(56) W. Wyrcester, p. 512.

(57) W. Wyrcester, p. 512, 513.

(58) Rym. Fœd. tom. 11. p. 522—606. 631.

A. D. 1468. met with the hearty approbation of that assembly, which granted no less than two tenths and two fifteenths, to enable him to execute his design (59). But internal commotions soon diverted all thoughts of foreign conquests.

Marriage. All the preliminaries of the marriage of the lady Margaret with the duke of Burgundy being fully settled, she rode through the streets of London behind the earl of Warwick, June 18; embarked at Margate, July 1; arrived next day at Sluis; and was married with great solemnity, at Dam, July 9 (60).

Trials. Riding before the lady Margaret in that procession was not the only mark of respect and confidence that Edward conferred on the earl of Warwick about this time. Several gentlemen having been apprehended, and accused of corresponding with queen Margaret, the king granted a commission to his own two brothers, the dukes of Clarence and Gloucester, with the earl of Warwick, and the earl of Northumberland, his brother, to sit in judgment upon them at Guildhall in July. The two earls acted with great zeal in the execution of this commission; and very unjustifiable methods were used to procure evidence against the prisoners; of whom some were condemned and executed (61). This seems to afford a sufficient proof that Edward did not as yet suspect Warwick or his brother of disaffection.

A. D. 1469. George duke of Clarence had long been discontented. He thought himself neglected by the king his brother, and imputed that neglect to the influence of the queen's relations, against whom he entertained the most violent animosity. Their common hatred of the same persons naturally produced an intercourse and communication of councils between Clarence and the earl of Warwick; and this intercourse gradually improved into an intimate union of interests, which was at last cemented by a marriage between the duke and the lady Isabella, the eldest of the earl's two daughters, and one of the heiresses of his great estate. This marriage was celebrated with great pomp at Calais, July 11, by the archbishop of York (62).

(59) *Parl. Hist.* vol. 2. p. 332.

(60) *Stow*, p. 421.

(61) *W. Wyrcester*, p. 515.

(62) *Hall*, Ed. IV. l. 9. *Stow*,

p. 421.

In the mean time, a dangerous insurrection of the farmers and common people took place in Yorkshire; occasioned by the officers of the hospital of St. Leonard's at York, violently exacting certain quantities of corn, which the farmers refused to pay. Many of our historians insinuate, that this insurrection was raised by the emissaries of the Nevile family; but this is very improbable, as it was certainly opposed by one of the heads of that family. For when the insurgents amounted to 15,000 men, and approached the gates of York, John Nevile, earl of Northumberland, raising a body of his bravest followers, attacked and defeated them, took their leader, called Robin of Redsdale, and beheaded him on the field. The approach of night prevented any pursuit (63).

A. D. 1469.

Insurrection
in York-
shire.

But though the insurgents were defeated, they were not dispersed; and they soon found leaders of greater abilities, and higher rank, than Robin of Redsdale. These were, sir Henry Nevile and sir John Camiers; who, leaving the neighbourhood of York, directed their march southward. As soon as Edward heard of this insurrection, he sent the lord Herbert, lately created earl of Pembroke, and the lord Stafford, created earl of Devon, at the head of a considerable army, to meet and encounter the enemy. When the two earls, with their forces, arrived at Bunbury, they quarrelled so violently about their lodgings, that the earl of Devon withdrew the troops under his command; and the earl of Pembroke, with his division of the army, consisting chiefly of Welshmen, was defeated by the insurgents at Edgecote in Northamptonshire, about three miles from Bunbury, July 26 (64). The victors (as was usual in those times) stained their laurels with much blood which they shed after the battle. The earl of Pembroke, his brother sir Richard Herbert, and ten other gentlemen, were beheaded on the field. Richard earl Rivers, the queen's father, and sir John Widvile, her brother, being taken in the forest of Dean, were carried to Northampton, and put to death on a scaffold, without any trial (65).

Battle of
Bunbury.

(63) Hall, f. 11.
p. 300. Stow, p. 422.

(64) Fragment ad finem Sproti Chron.
(65) Stow, p. 422. Hall, f. 13.

A.D. 1469. It was reported (says a contemporary writer), that these things were done by the consent of the earl of Warwick; and this, which was then only a vague report, hath been adopted by many historians as an undoubted truth (66). There is the clearest evidence, that king Edward himself entertained no such suspicion; for he constituted the earl of Warwick, August 17, chief justiciary of South Wales, and gave him several other offices of power and trust, which had been held by his favourite the late earl of Pembroke; which he certainly would not have done, if he had suspected that Warwick had any connection with rebels who had murdered his own father and brother-in-law (67).

Rupture between Edward and his brother Clarence. But though Edward, at that time, placed great confidence in the attachment of the earl of Warwick, that confidence did not continue much longer. For he granted a commission to John duke of Norfolk, John duke of Suffolk, and Anthony late lord Scales, now earl Rivers, dated at Westminster, 16th November this year, to array all the men capable of bearing arms in the counties of Norfolk and Suffolk, against the duke of Clarence and other rebels, who had conspired to deliver king Henry (68). The immediate cause of this violent rupture between king Edward and his brother Clarence and the earl of Warwick, is not certainly known, some assigning one cause, and some another, and none of them very probable. It is only certain, that the royal brothers had long been dissatisfied with each other's conduct; and when they were in that state of mind, a small spark might raise a mighty flame.

Percy family restored. Henry Percy, son and heir to the earl of Northumberland who was slain in the fatal battle of Towton, had been from that time kept a prisoner in the Tower of London, while John Nevile, brother to the earl of Warwick, enjoyed his title and estate. Edward (it is said) caused secret hints to be conveyed to the friends of the Percy family, to present petitions to him for the restoration of their imprisoned chief to his liberty, and the estates and honours of his ancestors. In consequence of these petitions, young Henry was set at liberty, Octo-

(66) Fragment. p. 301.

(67) Rym. Fœd. tom. 11. p. 647.

(68) Rym. Fœd. tom. 11. p. 649.

ber 27, and soon after restored to the earldom of Northumberland (69). The loss of so much power and wealth at once could not but be very disagreeable to the Nevile family; and this might be one cause of their discovering their disaffection to Edward at this time.

But as the season was too far advanced for military operations, conciliating measures were adopted by the court. John Nevile, who had been deprived of the title of earl of Northumberland, was raised to the higher title of marquis of Montague; and his eldest son, George, was created duke of Bedford, January 5, and flattered with the hopes of obtaining the princess Elizabeth, the king's eldest daughter, in marriage (70). In a word, the reconciliation between the court and the family of the Neviles, in the beginning of this memorable year, was, in appearance at least, so complete, that Edward granted a commission, at Waltham Abbey, March 7, to the duke of Clarence and the earl of Warwick, to array all the men able to bear arms in the county of Worcester, and to conduct them to the army the king was raising against certain rebels (71).

The rebels mentioned in this commission were commanded by sir Robert Wells, eldest son of Richard lord Wells, and other gentlemen of Lincolnshire. They drove sir Robert Burgh, who held a place in the king's household, out of the county, demolished his castle, plundered his estate, and declared for king Henry. This insurrection was probably a part of that plan which the duke of Clarence and the earl of Warwick had formed for their own defence, against the indignation of Edward, when he denounced them rebels; and it had broke out before they had an opportunity of acquainting the leaders of it with their reconciliation to the court. Edward sent for Richard lord Wells, with a solemn promise for his safety; and directed him to write to his son, commanding him to lay down his arms. Not trusting to the success of this scheme, he raised an army, with which he marched northward, carrying with him the lord Wells (72).

(69) *Ibid.* p. 648.

(70) *Dugdale Baron.* vol. 1. p. 238.

(71) *Rym. Fœd.* tom. 11. p. 652.

(72) *Stow.* p. 422. *Polyd. Virgil,* p. 518.

A. D. 1470.

Plot.

Before Edward set out on this march, he paid a visit to George Nevile archbishop of York, at his house of More-park; and when washing before supper, he received private notice from John Ratcliff, one of his attendants, that 100 men at arms were ready to seize his person (73). Alarmed at this notice, he went suddenly out of the house, mounted his horse, and rode off full speed to Windsor (74).

Clarence
and War-
wick col-
lect their
forces.

Not only the archbishop of York, but also the duke of Clarence and the earl of Warwick, were enraged at this abrupt retreat of the king, as indicating a rooted distrust, and reflecting highly upon their honour. They immediately dispatched a messenger to Sir Robert Wells, entreating him not to lay down his arms, and promising to join him with a powerful reinforcement as soon as possible; and in order to perform that promise, the duke and earl set out for Warwick to collect their forces (75).

Insurrection
suppressed.

But all their schemes were ruined by the rashness of Sir Robert Wells. When Edward with his army reached Stamford, and found that Sir Robert was still in arms, and paid no regard to the commands of his father, he was so incensed, that, forgetting his promise, he commanded his father, the lord Wells, to be beheaded. A base and barbarous action! which rendered the son so impatient for revenge, that, without waiting for Warwick, he gave the king battle, was defeated, taken prisoner, and soon after beheaded at Stamford, with Sir Thomas Dimmock, and some other leaders of the insurgents. The unhappy sufferers acknowledged, in their last moments, that they had been encouraged to persist in their rebellion by the duke of Clarence and the earl of Warwick, which gave Edward full information of their defection (76).

Clarence
and War-

When the duke and earl, who were then at Warwick, heard of the defeat of their friends at Stamford, they

(73) Fragment. p. 302.

(74) This seems to have given rise to that romantic incredible tale related by almost all our historians,—that Edward was at this time taken prisoner by Warwick, and sent to his castle of Middleham in Yorkshire, from which he made his escape, through the too great indulgence of the archbishop of York, his keeper.

(75) Claus. 10 Ed. IV. apud Carte, vol. 2. p. 780.

(76) Id. ibid. Contin. Hist. Croyl. p. 553.

marched with the small number of troops they had raised in a few days, into Lancashire (spreading as they proceeded the most inflammatory reports against Edward), in hopes that Thomas lord Stanley, who had married the earl's sister, would join them in their revolt; which he refused to do. They then intended to march into Yorkshire, where they had many friends. But they were soon informed, that Edward, with his victorious army, was already at York, and had published from thence, March 20, a severe proclamation against the spreaders of false reports (77). From the same place he published, March 24, a long declaration, acquainting his subjects with the treasonable designs of which his brother Clarence and the earl of Warwick were accused; and that he had summoned them, by a herald, to appear before him, March 28, to answer to these accusations, under the pain of being declared traitors. As they did not appear, they were accordingly proclaimed rebels, at Nottingham, March 31 (78).

Despairing to raise an army in the north, Clarence and Warwick retired, or rather fled, into the west, in order to make their escape to the continent; and Edward pursued them with so much ardour, that he marched from Nottingham to Exeter in fifteen days (79). The fugitives, having procured a sufficient number of ships, embarked, about the same time, at Dartmouth, with their families and most attached friends, directing their course towards Calais, of which Warwick was governor, and where they intended to take shelter. But there they met with an unexpected repulse from Vaucler, to whom Warwick had given the government of the place in his absence. That ungrateful adventurer pointed his guns against his benefactor, and would not permit him, or any of his company, to land; not even the duchess of Clarence, who fell in labour, and was delivered of a son on ship-board. Vaucler, by a confidential messenger, advised Warwick to retire into France, and wait for better times; assuring him, that he had refused him admittance into Calais, because he could not

A. D. 1470.

wick revolt.

Clarence and Warwick refused admittance into Calais.

(77) Rym. Fœd. tom. 11. p. 657.

(78) Clau. 10. Ed. IV. apud Carte, p. 780.

(79) Rym. Fœd. tom. 11. p. 656.

A. D. 1470. have afforded him protection; but that, when an opportunity offered, he would convince him that he had not forgotten his favours. Whatever were the real intentions of Vaucler, his conduct was so agreeable to Edward and the duke of Burgundy, that the former gave him the government of Calais, and the latter granted him a pension of 1000 crowns a-year; on which he took a solemn oath to be faithful to Edward against all the world (80).

At the
court of
France.

Warwick, believing, or pretending to believe Vaucler's professions, took his advice; and having seized a fleet of Flemish ships in his passage, arrived, in May, at Honfleur in Normandy. There he found the bastard of Bourbon, admiral of France, who received and treated the illustrious exiles in the most polite and friendly manner. Having provided the best accommodations for the ladies and their attendants, at Valongis, he conducted the duke of Clarence, the earl of Warwick, with Jasper Tudor, earl of Pembroke, and John de Vere, earl of Oxford (who had also escaped from England), to the court of France, which was then at Amboise. Lewis XI. who had long dreaded the intimate union of king Edward with his two most formidable enemies, the dukes of Burgundy and Brittany, received them with the greatest joy, and immediately entered on business (81).

Plan for re-
storing
Henry VI.

When Warwick first formed the design of dethroning Edward, he had no thoughts of restoring Henry VI. but intended to raise his own son-in-law, the duke of Clarence, to the throne. Of this he was accused by Edward, in his long declaration published at York, March 24; and it was generally known and believed in England (82). But he soon found that this was impracticable, being equally disagreeable to the Yorkists and Lancastrians. He was now therefore under the necessity of adopting the plan proposed by the king of France, which was to restore king Henry; in which he was certain of the assistance of all the friends of the house of Lancaster, of all the discontented Yorkists,

(80) Philip de Comines, vol. 1. p. 188, 189.

(81) Contin. Monst. elet, f. 34. Philip de Comines, l. 3. ch. 5. p. 190.

(82) Claus. 19 Edward IV. apud Carte, vol. 2. p. 780.

and of the French monarch. To engage him more heartily in this design, so contrary to all his former principles and passions, it was proposed, that Edward prince of Wales should marry his youngest daughter, the lady Ann; that he should be regent of the kingdom during the reign of Henry and the minority of Edward; and that, if Edward died without issue, Clarence should succeed to the throne (83). A. D. 1470.

When all these arrangements were settled, messengers were sent to conduct Margaret of Anjou, queen of England, and her son Edward prince of Wales, from their residence in Lorrain (where they had lived several years in great obscurity), to the court of France. Though no two persons in the world perhaps ever hated each other more heartily than queen Margaret and the earl of Warwick, yet their ambition, their interest, and their need of each other's assistance, engaged them to suppress, or at least to conceal, their hatred on this occasion. Margaret agreed to all the arrangements proposed; the marriage of the prince of Wales and the lady Ann Nevile was celebrated to the apparent satisfaction of all concerned; an alliance, offensive and defensive, was concluded between king Henry and the king of France; and every thing agreed upon was confirmed by the most solemn oaths of all parties (84). Marriage of Edward prince of Wales.

The satisfaction, however, discovered on this occasion was not so great as it appeared. The duke of Clarence was secretly discontented; nor was his duchess pleased with the prospect of seeing her younger sister upon a throne, when she was to remain a subject. Edward found means to increase their discontents, by sending over to them a lady who had formerly belonged to the duchess, and had been her bosom friend and confident. This female politician (whose name is not preserved in history) passed through Calais, and had the dexterity to deceive Vaucler (the most artful man of this age of deceit and artifice), by discovering his secret attachment to Warwick, and concealing the design of her own journey. She arrived safe at the court of France, and was admitted, without suspicion, to the Duke of Clarence discontented.

(83) Contin. Monstrelet, f. 34. Philip de Comines, vol. 1. p. 191.

(84) Philip de Comines, vol. 1. p. 191.

A. D. 1470. duke and duchess of Clarence; to whom she represented the folly and danger of their present conduct in such strong colours, that the duke sent her back to his brother, with assurances, that he would embrace the first opportunity of returning to his allegiance (85).

Edward's
security.

King Edward, after the flight of Clarence and Warwick, disbanded his army, and abandoned himself to hunting, feasting, and other sensual indulgences, to which he was much addicted. The duke of Burgundy, who knew what was transacting in the court of France, endeavoured to rouse him from his security, and gave him frequent warnings of an approaching storm. But his love of pleasure, and the strong assurances given him by the archbishop of York and the marquis of Montague, the earl of Warwick's brothers, of their inviolable attachment to him against all the world, prevented his regarding these warnings (86).

Clarence
and War-
wick return
to England.

The king of France having furnished the English exiles with some stout ships, a body of troops, and a considerable sum of money, they embarked at Honfleur, and landed at Dartmouth, September 13, about five months after their departure from the same place. They had kept up a correspondence with their friends in England; and so many of these joined them soon after their landing, that they composed a formidable army, with which they advanced towards the capital, dispersing a manifesto, commanding all the subjects who were capable of bearing arms, to join them, in order to dethrone the tyrant Edward (as they called him), and restore king Henry to the throne (87).

King Ed-
ward ex-
pelled.

King Edward was in the north, suppressing some commotions, of which we have no distinct account, when he received the news of this landing; at which he rejoiced, or pretended to rejoice; and sent a message to the duke of Burgundy to guard the seas, to prevent the earl of Warwick's escape. But he soon found reason to change his sentiments, or at least his language. He appointed his forces to assemble at Nottingham, and waited in that neighbourhood, expecting a powerful reinforcement under his friend the marquis of Montague;

(85) Philip de Comines, vol. 1. p. 193.

(87) Stow, p. 422.

(86) *Id. ibid.*

who was then at York. But when that nobleman came A. D. 1470.
 within ten miles of Edward's quarters, at the head of
 6000 men on whom he could depend, he discovered his
 design of declaring for king Henry; and that design
 was so agreeable to his followers (who had formerly
 been Lancastrians), that they made the air ring with
 crying, "Long live king Henry!" The news of this
 unexpected event were communicated to king Edward
 by one of his minstrels, and confirmed by other mes-
 sengers. His first thought was, to draw out his forces,
 and bravely meet his enemies. But lord Hastings soon
 convinced him, that he could not depend on the fide-
 lity of his own troops, and that he had no other part to
 take but to attempt an escape to the continent. In con-
 sequence of this advice, the king, with his brother the
 duke of Gloucester, earl Rivers, and seven or eight
 other noblemen, and a small body of his most faithful
 followers, instantly mounted, and rode to Bishop's-
 Lynne in Norfolk, embarked on board three ships they
 found in that port, and put to sea, October 3. After
 a very narrow escape from a fleet belonging to the Hanse
 towns, then at enmity with the English, he landed near
 Almar in Friezeland, without as much money in his
 pocket as could pay his passage (88). In this manner,
 a mighty king was expelled from his dominions, in a
 few days, without one stroke of a sword, or one drop
 of blood! But this was the age of sudden, surprising
 revolutions.

Warwick was on his way into the north with his ar- King Hen-
 my, when he received the agreeable tidings of king ry restored.
 Edward's flight; on which he immediately marched to
 London, into which he entered in triumph, October 5.
 Next day he relieved Henry from his tedious imprison-
 ment in the Tower, proclaimed him lawful king, and
 conducted him with great pomp through the streets of
 London to the bishop's palace, where he resided till the
 13th, when he went in solemn procession, with the crown
 on his head, attended by his prelates, nobles, and great
 men, to St. Paul's, to return thanks to God for his
 restoration (89).

(88) Continuat. Hist. Croyl. p. 554. Stow, p. 422. Hall, f. 20.
 Leland Collectanea, vol. 2. p. 533.

(89) Stow, p. 422.

A. D. 1470.

Prince Edward born.

Queen Elisabeth, dreading what was to happen, had retired privately from the Tower, in the night of October 1, with the young princesses, her daughters, and a few faithful friends, and taken shelter in the sanctuary at Westminster. In this melancholy abode she was delivered of her eldest son, the unfortunate Edward V. on November 4 (90).

Effects of this revolution on the continent.

When the report of this great revolution in England reached the continent, it occasioned the greatest joy in the court of France, and no less dejection in the court of Burgundy. By the king's command, solemn processions of all the clergy and principal laity were made for three days, in Paris, and all the great towns of France, to thank God and the Virgin Mary for having restored Henry of Lancaster to the throne of England. The exiled queen and her son the prince of Wales, who had lived several years neglected and almost forgotten, were received into Paris with as splendid and expensive triumphs as it was possible to exhibit (91). On the other hand, Charles duke of Burgundy, though naturally bold, was struck with consternation, because he was already at war with France, and had now reason to apprehend an immediate attack from England. To prevent this, if possible, he sent his confidential servant, Philip de Comines, to Vauclair, governor of Calais, whom he believed to be his friend. But when Comines arrived at Calais, he found Vauclair and his garrison wearing the ensigns of the earl of Warwick, and declaring loudly for king Henry, and a war with Burgundy. He found means, however, by the interposition of the English merchants of the staple, whose chief trade was with the great manufacturing towns in Flanders, to prevent an immediate rupture (92). The duke of Burgundy was also much perplexed about the manner in which he was to behave to the exiled monarch. To abandon him in his distress, he knew would be dishonourable; to assist him openly, would be dangerous. He therefore pursued a middle course, by assisting him in private, and in public rejecting all his applications for assistance (93).

(90) Stow, p. 422.

(91) Continuat. Monstrelet, f. 35-

(92) Philip de Comines, l. 3. c. 6. p. 201—204.

(93) *Id. ibid.* p. 205.

The earl of Warwick was now at the head of affairs in England, and took the most likely steps to secure his power. To keep the duke of Clarence steady, he loaded him with favours, giving him a share in the regency of the kingdom, appointing him lord lieutenant of Ireland, and granting him all the estates of the family of York (94). He took the office of admiral to himself, and appointed his brother, the marquis of Montague, warden of the marches (95). In a word, he turned all the friends of king Edward out of their offices, and filled them with his own friends (96). To give a legal sanction to the whole, he summoned a parliament, which did whatever he was pleased to dictate. By this parliament, all attainders against king Henry's friends were repealed, and they were restored to their estates and honours;—king Edward and all his partisans were attainted, and their estates confiscated;—the crown was settled on Edward prince of Wales, and his issue, and failing them, on the dukes of Clarence, and his issue (97). But even the wisest measures are not always successful.

A. D. 1471

Steps taken
by the earl
of War-
wick.

Queen Margaret, her son Edward prince of Wales, with the dukes of Somerset and Exeter, and several others who had lived long in exile, ardently desired to return to England, to resume their former stations; but were unfortunately detained on the continent, during all this winter, by contrary winds and storms (98).

The queen,
&c. detain-
ed on the
continent.

The duke of Burgundy was still in terror of being crushed between the two powerful monarchies of France and England. To prevent this, he encouraged king Edward to make an attempt for the recovery of his crown, and privately assisted him with men, money, and ships (99). All things being ready, he embarked, with about 2000 men, at the free port of Vere in Zealand; from whence he sailed, March 11, and landed at Ravenspur on the 14th of the same month (100). At his landing he met with a cold reception, and even some opposition, from the country-people, headed by one

Edward
returns to
England.

(94) Rym. Fœd. tom. 11. p. 693.

(95) Id. ibid. p. 665. 679.

(96) Id. ibid. p. 661—665.

(97) Parliament. Hist. vol. 2. p. 334.

(98) Fabian, an. 1471.

(99) Philip de Comines, vol. 1. p. 206.

(100) Holingsh. p. 1327.

A. D. 1471. Westerdale, a priest (101). To quiet their minds, and excite their pity, he pretended that he had relinquished all thoughts of claiming the crown, and came only to recover the estates of his family. To convince them of his sincerity in this, he wore an ostrich feather, the ensign of prince Edward, in his hat, and commanded his followers to cry, king Henry ! wherever they came. When he approached York, he found the gates shut against him, and could not obtain admittance till he had taken a solemn oath, before the mayor and aldermen, that he did not intend to claim the crown (102).

Warwick's
prepara-
tions.

The earl of Warwick seems to have had pretty good intelligence of the motions and designs of king Edward when he was in Holland. So early as the 21st of December A. D. 1470, a commission was given to the marquis of Montague to arm all the men in the five northern counties, to repel an invasion expected in those parts; and on the 28th of the same month, a similar commission was granted for all the rest of the kingdom, to the duke of Clarence, the earl of Warwick, the earl of Oxford, and Sir John Scroop (103). In the month of January this year, the earl of Warwick was constituted admiral of England, and, with the duke of Clarence and earl of Pembroke, had a commission to array the men in Wales (104). But we know not distinctly what progress these commissioners had made in the execution of their commissions, when Edward actually landed.

Edward
marches,
and assumes
the name
of king.

After king Edward had refreshed his followers a few days at York, he marched out, directing his route southward. No situation could appear more dangerous, or even desperate, than that in which Edward was at this time. The marquis of Montague was at Pomfret with an army superior to his, and could easily have stopped his progress. The duke of Clarence and the earl of Warwick, each at the head of a powerful army, were marching from the south to meet and oppose him. But, to the astonishment of all the world, the marquis of Montague permitted him to pass without any interruption. The real cause of this mysterious conduct will never

(101) Stow, p. 423.

(102) Holingh. p. 102.

(103) Rym. Fœd. tom. II. f. 676, 677.

(104) Id. ibid. p. 679, 680.

be known with certainty ; but, among the various conjectures that have been made concerning it, this seems to be the most probable,—that the duke of Clarence had sent him orders not to fight till he had joined him (105). When Edward reached Nottingham, the lord Stanley, Sir Thomas Parre, Sir James Harrington, Sir Thomas Montgomery, and several other gentlemen, brought him reinforcements (106). Being now at the head of a respectable army, he threw off the mask ; and, in direct violation of the solemn oath he had taken a few days before at the high altar in the cathedral of York, he assumed the name of king (107). A. D. 1471.

The earls of Warwick and Oxford having united their forces at Coventry, expected every day to be joined by the duke of Clarence and his army, which would have enabled them to put an effectual stop to Edward's further progress. But that prince put them off with promises and excuses. In the mean time Edward, advancing boldly, reached Coventry, March 29, and offered the earls battle ; which they declined (108). The duke of Clarence was now at hand, and was visited by his brother Richard duke of Gloucester, who came to his camp, with a few attendants, and without any passport. The two brothers flew into each others embraces : and after a short conversation, Clarence, having prepared the chief men of his army before, declared for his brother Edward ; and the two armies, which seemed to be at the point of engaging in a bloody battle, united in the most friendly manner (109). The important secret which had encouraged Edward to advance in the face of so many dangers, was now discovered ; and this great revolution, the cause of one still greater which soon followed, was owing to the intrigues of an artful woman, of whose name we are not informed. Clarence joins his brother king Edward.

Clarence was not ashamed to send an intimation to his father-in-law, of his defection, and the violation of his most solemn engagements, and to offer his good offices to bring about a peace between him and Edward. This offer was rejected with disdain by the enraged earl, who King Edward marches to London.

(105) Stow, p. 423.

(106) Holingsh. p. 1329.

(107) Hall, f. 26.

(108) Holingsh. p. 1329.

(109) Continuat. Hist. Croyl. p. 554. Hall, f. 26. Stow, p. 423.

A. D. 1471 knew that, after what had happened, no cordial reconciliation ever could take place. Edward then called a council of war, to deliberate whether he should attack the earl of Warwick in his camp, or march directly to London. This last measure was adopted, and carried into execution; and he reached Westminster on Monday, April 9. Though he found the gates shut against him, he had a powerful party in the city, with whom he corresponded and co-operated; and they soon procured his admission, without the use of force. All the sanctuaries in London and Westminster were crowded with his friends, to the number of 2000 persons; among whom were 400 knights and gentlemen, who now exerted all their influence in his favour. Many rich merchants, to whom he owed great sums of money, ardently desired his restoration; and the city-ladies in general were his fond admirers and warmest advocates. He even found means either to corrupt or intimidate the archbishop of York, to whom his brother Warwick had committed the care of the city, and of king Henry's person; and, with the consent of that prelate, he was admitted, on Thursday, April 11, by a postern, into the bishop's palace, where he found his helpless rival, and immediately sent him to the Tower (110).

**Battle of
Barnet.**

As soon as Warwick was joined by his brother the marquis of Montague, he set out on his march after Edward, in hopes of finding and attacking him without the walls of London. But when he arrived at St. Alban's, on Friday, April 12, he received the disagreeable news, that his enemies were in possession of the capital. Determined to fight them even there, he advanced to Barnet on Saturday; and Edward having marched from London on the same day, the two armies encamped so near each other in the evening, that neither of them enjoyed much repose during the night. By day-break on Easter-Sunday, April 14, both armies were drawn out, and immediately rushed into action with uncommon fury. This battle, which both parties believed would be decisive, was long, fierce, and bloody, victory seeming sometimes to incline to the one side, and

(110) Continuat. Hist. Croyl. p. 554. Stow, p. 425. Holingsh. p. 1571. Philip de Comine, l. 3. c. 7. Rym. Fœd. tom. 11. p. 709.

sometimes to the other. At length the earl of Warwick's ^{A. D. 1471.} troops were thrown into disorder, by an unhappy mistake, occasioned by a mist, raised (as it was then believed) by friar Bungy, a reputed magician. The brave earl of Oxford, whose device on his soldiers' coats, both before and behind, was a star with rays, had beat his opponents off the field, and was returning to assist his friends, when his troops were attacked by the earl of Warwick's men, who believed them to be a body of the enemy, whose device was a sun with rays. Oxford, astonished at that attack, and apprehending that some fatal treachery (then so common) had taken place, fled, with 800 of his followers; which threw all into confusion. The earl of Warwick, in order to revive the courage of his troops, rushed into the thickest of the enemy; where he fell, covered with wounds; and his brother the marquis of Montague attempting to relieve him, shared the same fate. Thus perished Richard Neville, the stout earl of Warwick, commonly called *the King-maker*, and with him perished the prosperity of his family, and the power of his party. As soon as his death was known, his army dispersed, and left Edward a complete victory (111). The duke of Exeter was grievously wounded, and left for dead on the field, but afterwards taken up, and conveyed secretly into the sanctuary at Westminster. The duke of Somerset and earl of Oxford fled into Wales, and joined the earl of Pembroke, who was there raising troops.

It will be difficult to find in history such a succession of untoward events as attended the house of Lancaster in this struggle to retain the crown of England. Queen Margaret and prince Edward, whose presence would have been a great encouragement to their partisans, had been detained all the winter on the continent; and after they embarked, March 4, they were tossed about in the channel no less than three weeks, and did not land at Weymouth till the evening of that fatal day on which the battle of Barnet had been fought (112). The queen, who knew not what had lately happened in England, imagined she had nothing now to do, but to march in triumph to the capital, and take possession of her former

The queen
and prince
land in
England.

(111) Contin. Hist. Croyl. p. 555. Hall, Ed. IV. f. 29.

(112) Holingsh. p. 1331. 1336.

A.D. 1471. dignity. How great was her consternation then, when she received the dismal tidings of the defeat at Barnet, the death of Warwick and his brother, the captivity of her husband, and the dispersion of all her friends ! On this occasion, all her fortitude forsook her ; she sunk to the ground, and fainted away ; from which state she was not without great difficulty recovered. When she revived, yielding to despair, she fled with her son to a sanctuary in the abbey of Beaulieu (113). Her first design was, to make her escape, with her son and friends, to France. But, in a day or two, seeing herself surrounded by the duke of Somerset, the earls of Oxford and Devonshire, the lord Wenlock, the lord John Beaufort, and many knights and gentlemen, her spirits and her hopes revived, and she consented to stay and make another attempt ; but pleaded earnestly to be allowed to send away the prince, to which they would not agree. The queen, the prince, and princess of Wales, with a few attendants, were escorted to Bath, and the noblemen and gentlemen separated to collect their forces ; which they did with so much success, that in about ten days they brought together an army (it is said) of 40,000 men. With this army they proposed to march into Wales, to join the earl of Pembroke, and from thence into Cheshire, to strengthen it with a body of archers ; which would have made it very formidable (114).

**Battle of
Tewksbury.**

But king Edward was too active to allow them time to execute this plan. He set out from London, April 19, and proceeded westward by slow marches, to give his forces from different parts an opportunity of joining him by the way. Arriving at Tewksbury, May 3, he found the enemy encamped on the banks of the Severn, near that place. Next morning he took a view of the intrenchments they had made about their camp in the preceding night, and determined to attack them immediately. They sustained the first attack with great bravery ; but the duke of Somerset, with the front line, having rashly ventured without the intrenchments, were beat back with great slaughter ; the enemy entered the camp with them, and threw all into confusion. The

(113) Hall, f. 30.

(114) Hellingsh, p. 336.

earl of Devonshire, lord Wenlock, lord John Beaufort, ^{A. D. 1471.} with a considerable number of knights and esquires, and about 3000 common soldiers of the queen's army, were killed. The queen, the prince of Wales, the duke of Somerset, the lord St. John, with many knights and gentlemen, were taken prisoners. The queen, who had caused and suffered so many calamities, was committed to the Tower: where she endured a long and comfortless confinement. The prince of Wales, having been brought into the king's presence, and asked by him, with a stern countenance, how he had dared to come into his kingdom in arms, boldly replied, "I came to recover my father's kingdom." Edward was so much irritated by this reply, that he had the baseness to smite the prince on the face with his gauntlet; and his attendants instantly dispatched the helpless victim with many wounds. Whether the dukes of Clarence and Gloucester imbrued their hands in the blood of this unhappy prince, as some historians affirm, is uncertain; but there seems to be no doubt that they were present at that horrid scene, and afforded him no protection. On Monday, May 6, the duke of Somerset, the lord St. John, and fourteen knights and gentlemen, were beheaded at Tewksbury; and many others, soon after, shared the same fate in other places (115).

This was the twelfth battle that had been fought in the fatal quarrel between the houses of York and Lancaster; and in these battles, and on the scaffold, above sixty princes of the royal family, above one half of the nobles and principal gentlemen, and above one hundred thousand of the common people of England, lost their lives (116). The battle of Tewksbury was the most decisive, and (if we except a few short commotions) secured the peaceable possession of the crown, during the reign of Edward IV. to the house of York, by the almost total extinction of the rival house of Lancaster.

King Edward entered London in triumph, May 21, and next morning Henry VI. was found dead in the Tower. The manner of his death must for ever remain a secret, though it seems to have been the general opi-

(115) Hall, f. 32. Stow, p. 424. Holingsh. p. 1343, 1341.

(116) Philip de Comines, vol. 1. p. 52. 185, 186.

A.D. 1471. nion at the time, that it was violent. “ I think it prudent (writes a contemporary historian) to say nothing of the death of Henry VI. May God grant time for repentance to the person, whoever he was, who laid his sacrilegious hands on the Lord’s anointed (117)!” The historians of the next age, who were not under the same restraint, make no scruple to name the duke of Gloucester as the author, if not the perpetrator, of this act of cruelty (118). While his son, the prince of Wales, lived, the life or death of Henry was of little consequence, but after the death of that prince the case was changed.

Edward re-wards his friends and punishes his enemies.

King Edward spent the summer of this year, in bestowing rewards and honours on his friends, and in punishing his enemies with death, imprisonment, or heavy fines (119). A few of these last saved themselves by flying into foreign countries. The earl of Oxford made his escape into France. The earl of Pembroke, with his nephew Henry Tudor, the young earl of Richmond (the only remaining hope of the house of Lancaster), embarked at Tynby, intending to pursue the same course; but were driven, by contrary winds, into Brittany, where they were hospitably entertained, but at the same time carefully guarded, by duke Francis II. who was in alliance with king Edward, against their common enemy the king of France (120). Edward, having created his infant son of the same name prince of Wales, summoned a great council of prelates, peers, and a few knights, who met at Westminster, July 3, and took a solemn oath to maintain the succession of the young prince to the crown of England. Richard duke of Gloucester was the second temporal peer who took this oath (121). To gain the affections of the clergy, he pardoned several bishops who had been engaged against him in the late contest (122). To give a legal sanction to the whole, he summoned a parliament, which met October 6, and attainted the persons, and confiscated the estates, of as many of his enemies as he pleased (123).

(117) Continuat. Hist. Croyl. p. 556.

(118) Stow, p. 424. Hall, f. 33. (119) Stow, p. 424.

(120) Hall, f. 33. Stow, p. 425. Holingsh. p. 1345.

(121) Rym. Feed. tom. II. p. 714. (122) Id. ibid. p. 715.

(123) Continuat. Hist. Croyl. p. 557.

The last memorable and very active year was succeeded ^{A. D. 1472,} by a calm of several years duration, which happily af- ^{and} ford few materials for that part of history which is the ^{A. D. 1473:} subject of this chapter. This calm was hardly disturbed ^{A calm.} by a feeble attempt of the earl of Oxford. That unfortunate nobleman having returned into England with a few followers, surprised St. Michael's Mount in Cornwall, and defended it for some time with great bravery; but was obliged to capitulate, February 15, and was imprisoned in the castle of Hammes, near Calais, where he remained no less than twelve years. His great estate was confiscated; and his countess, sister to the late earl of Warwick, reduced to the necessity of earning a scanty subsistence by her needle (124). Though Edward had granted a full pardon to George Nevile, archbishop of York, he now commanded him to be apprehended, accused him of having corresponded with the earl of Oxford, sent him prisoner to the castle of Guines, and seized all his effects and revenues (125).

Though Edward enjoyed great prosperity at this time, ^{Edward's} it was not unmixed with some disquiets. ^{disquiets.} A violent animosity took place between his two brothers, the dukes of Clarence and Gloucester, which gave him much uneasiness. Gloucester proposed to marry the lady Ann Nevile, relict of the late prince of Wales, and one of the co-heiresses of the immense estates of the late earl of Warwick. Clarence, who had married her elder sister, determined, if possible, to prevent that marriage, in order to retain the whole succession. With this view he secreted the lady so carefully, that for several months she could not be found. At length, however, she was discovered in London, in the dress of a cook-maid, and placed in the sanctuary of St. Martin's. The two dukes pleaded their own cause before the king in council with much warmth and acrimony; and it was not without great difficulty that a seeming reconciliation was brought about, by allotting certain estates to Gloucester on his marriage with the lady Ann, and allowing Clarence to retain the greatest part of the disputed succession (126).

(124) Stow, p. 426. Hall, f. 35. (125) Id. *ibid.*

(126) Continuat. Hist. Croyl. p. 556.

A. D. 1472, Edward's mind was also haunted with continual fears of the
 and earl of Richmond, on whom he knew all the secret friends
 A. D. 1473. of the house of Lancaster had fixed their eyes; and he
 made the most tempting offers to the duke of Britany to
 prevail upon him to deliver that helpless victim into his
 hands. But these offers were all rejected (127).

A. D. 1473. Edward, in this interval of tranquillity, employed
 Treaties, himself in securing allies and amassing treasures. He
 &c. settled all his disputes with the Hanse towns, which were
 then very powerful—confirmed the long truce with Scot-
 land—renewed his alliances with the kings of Portugal
 and Denmark—and entered into stricter connections with
 the dukes of Burgundy and Britanny (128). From his
 parliament, in both these years, he obtained very large
 supplies; and got still greater sums of money in another
 way, which is thus described by a contemporary histo-
 rian: “A new method of raising money was intro-
 “duced at this time, called a *benevolence* or *free gift*, by
 “which every one gave the king what he pleased, or,
 “to speak more properly, what he did not please. By
 “this means greater sums of money were collected than
 “had ever been seen before, or will ever be seen here-
 “after (129).” This monk did not possess the gift of
 prophecy.

A. D. 1474. Internal peace had not been long restored in England,
 Edward when the people began to cast their eyes towards the con-
 prepares for tinent, and to think of recovering the losses, and wiping
 an expedi- off the disgraces they had there sustained in the preceding
 tion into reign. Edward hated Lewis XI. for the assistance he had
 France. already given, and feared him for that he might still give,
 to the house of Lancaster; and knowing the animosity
 of his subjects against the French, he resolved upon an
 expedition into France. The occasion was most invit-
 ing, and seemed to promise certain success. The two
 powerful dukes of Burgundy and Britany were open
 enemies to Lewis; the constable of France, and several
 of the greatest lords of that kingdom, were secretly dis-
 affected; and all these earnestly solicited Edward to come

(127) Stow, p. 426. Hall, f. 35.

(128) Rym. Fœd tom. II. p. 738—791.

(129) Parliament. Hist. vol. 2. p. 340—343. Continuat. Hist. Croyl.
 p. 558.

over with an army, and promised him their assistance. ^{A. D. 1474.} He spent this year, and the beginning of the next, in making preparations for that expedition. He negotiated treaties with the emperor, and Ferdinand king of Sicily, to procure the assistance of these princes against France—prolonged the truce with Scotland to A. D. 1515—concluded a marriage between the prince of Scotland, and his then youngest daughter, the princess Cecilia—settled, by five different treaties with the duke of Burgundy, all particulars respecting the conquest and partition of France—and provided troops, arms, ammunition, ships, and every thing necessary (150).

At length, his preparations being completed, Edward ^{A. D. 1475.} embarked at Sandwich, about the end of June or beginning of July, and soon after landed at Calais, attended by one of the finest armies that had ever passed from Britain to the continent. He immediately dispatched a herald, to defy the king of France, and demand the surrender of his crown and kingdom. That prince was now in the most imminent danger; from which nothing could have delivered him, but the infatuation of his enemies, and his own admirable policy. Instead of returning an irritating answer to the proud defiance he had received, he took the herald into his closet, and, in a familiar conversation, told him, that he had the highest respect for the king of England, who, he knew, had been induced to undertake that expedition by the duke of Burgundy and the constable of France, who would certainly abandon him as soon as their own purposes were answered. He gave him, with his own hand, 300 crowns, and promised him 1000 more, if he contributed to bring about a peace. The herald (who was a native of Normandy) gained by the condescension and liberality of so great a king, promised to promote his views to the utmost of his power; and advised him to address all his messages on the subject of peace to the lords Howard and Stanley, who had great influence with Edward, and were not fond of the present expedition. The king then committed the herald to the care of Philip de Comines, with a charge to send him away as soon and as well as possible (131).

(130) Rym. Fæd. tom. 11. p. 804—843.

(131) Philip de Comines, l. 4. ch. 5.

A. D. 1475.

Edward dis-
appointed.

When Edward landed at Calais, he expected to be joined by the duke of Burgundy at the head of a powerful army. But that impetuous, imprudent prince had almost ruined his army, by an unsuccessful expedition into Germany, and came to the English camp, attended only by a slender retinue. To pacify Edward, who was greatly chagrined at this disappointment, he assured him, that the earl of St. Pol, constable of France, would surrender to him the strong town of St. Quintin. But when the English army approached that place, the constable (who had spent his whole life in deceiving all the world, friends as well as enemies) fired upon them from the ramparts, and killed a considerable number of them by a sally. The duke of Burgundy, who was still in the English army, being neither able to account for this conduct of the constable, nor to bear the bitter reproaches of the king of England, departed abruptly, and left that prince in a violent rage against his allies, and almost sick of his expedition (132).

Truce with
France.

Edward was in this temper of mind, when his herald returned, with the report of the pacific dispositions of the king of France. This report was very agreeable to many of the English nobility, and not displeasing to the king; and the artful Lewis employed several methods to increase their desire of peace, and their dissatisfaction with their allies (133). In a word, Edward held a council in his camp, near Peronne, August 13, in which it was resolved to negotiate a truce with the French king, for these three reasons: “—the poverty of the army—“ the near approach of winter—and the small assistance of his allies;” and a commission was given to the lord Howard, with three others, to manage that negotiation (134). These plenipotentiaries met with no difficulties; and a truce, for seven years, was concluded, in the English camp, near Amiens, August 29, on their own terms; which were these—that the king of France shall pay to the king of England 75,000 crowns within fifteen days—that he shall pay him also 50,000 crowns a-year in London, during their joint lives—that the dau-

(132) Philip de Comines, l. 4. ch. 6.

(133) See Villar, tom. 18. p. 153. Philip de Comines, l. 4. ch. 7.

(134) Rym. Fœd, tom. 12. p. 14.

phin of France shall marry the princess Elifabeth of Eng- A. D. 1475.
land—and that Edward shall return with his whole army
into his own country, as soon as he hath received the
75,000 crowns. In this truce, all the allies of both
kings who chose to accede to it were comprehended (135).
Lewis at the same time agreed to pay to Edward 50,000
crowns, as the ransom of Margaret of Anjou, queen
dowager of England; in consequence of which, that
unhappy princess was set at liberty, and returned to her
family and native country (136).

Every thing being thus amicably adjusted between the
two kings, they had a personal interview on the bridge Interview at
Pequini.
over the Somme, at Pequini, August 29. At this inter-
view, both Edward and Lewis swore to the observation
of the treaties, with each one hand on the gospels, and
the other on a piece of the true cross: after which they
conversed together for some time in the most friendly and
familiar manner (137).

Lewis XI. in the course of these negotiations, not Lewis cor-
rupts the
English mi-
nisters.
only corrupted the English plenipotentiaries, but all the
other English ministers, by his caresses, bribes, and pen-
sions. Nor was there so much as one amongst them who
had the spirit or virtue to reject his offers. Besides what
he gave them in money, plate, and other presents, the
pensions he settled upon them amounted to 16,000
crowns a-year (138). To keep the English army in
good humour, he sent them a present of 300 cart-loads
of wine, and entertained all the English who visited
Amiens, where he resided, in the most hospitable man-
ner (139).

But though Lewis did every thing in his power to Edward re-
turns to
England.
please the English while they remained in France, there
was nothing he so ardently desired as their departure.
To forward this, he instantly paid the money stipulated
by the treaty; and Edward having received it, embarked
with his army at Calais, and arrived in England, Sep-
tember 28 (140). Thus ended an expedition, which
had been the result of many negotiations, of long, ex-
pensive preparations, and threatened Lewis XI. with

(135) Rym. Fœd. tom. 12. p. 15—21.

(136) Id. ibid. (137) Philip de Comines, l. 4. ch. 10.

(138) Id. ibid. p. 287. (139) Id. ibid. p. 289.

(140) Stow, p. 448.

A.D. 1475. the loss of his crown, and dismemberment of his kingdom, without having made, or so much as attempted to make, the smallest conquest. In this manner, Lewis, by his cool and prudent conduct, with his perfect knowledge of the passions and foibles of his antagonists, dissolved one of the most formidable confederacies that was ever formed against France, without shedding one drop of blood; and at the same time gained so great an influence in the councils of his enemies, that they were never able to give him the least disturbance. While he was, by a long train of curious contrivances, conducting the several members of this confederacy to the point to which he wished to bring them, he made them the subjects of ridicule among his confidants; but carefully abstained from such discourse in mixed company (141).

The English
discontent-
ed.

Though king Edward, who was now become excessively fond of pleasure, ease, and money, and was proud of the match he had made for his eldest daughter, and his ministers, who had been bribed and pensioned by the king of France, were pleased with the conclusion of this expedition; the people of England in general, and many martial adventurers in particular, were discontented. But their murmurs were not much regarded (142).

A.D. 1476.
Edward in-
dulges his
passions.

Edward, after his return from France, indulged his passions, and spent much of his time in feasting, gallantry, and the fashionable amusements of the times. His avarice, which daily increased, prompted him to employ a great variety of methods, some of them very oppressive, and others of them very unsuitable to the dignity of his station, to fill his coffers (143). But though he plundered his subjects himself with very little ceremony, he was remarkably severe in punishing private plunderers and robbers, who were very numerous after the army was disbanded (144). To keep Edward in this line of life, and prevent his interfering in the affairs of the continent, the king of France was punctual in the payment of the 50,000 crowns a year stipulated by the late treaty.

(141) Comines, tom. i. p. 303.

(142) Continuat. Hist. Croyl. p. 559.

(143) *Id. ibid.*

(144) *Id. ibid.*

and no less punctual in the payment of their pensions to Edward's ministers (145). A. D. 1476.

Though Edward was so much devoted to his pleasures, he was not perfectly easy in his mind. Henry, earl of Richmond, was still alive, and out of his reach, and might one day dispute the throne with him or his posterity. He resolved therefore to make an attempt to get him into his hands. With this view he sent an embassy to the duke of Brittany, to renew the treaties of alliance, and to prevail upon that prince to give up the earl of Richmond, and his uncle the earl of Pembroke. The ambassadors, it is said, were furnished with a large sum of money, and instructed to assure the duke, that Edward intended to marry the earl of Richmond to one of his own daughters, and thereby to put an end to the fatal quarrel between the houses of York and Lancaster. The treaties of alliance were renewed, and the duke was at length prevailed upon to deliver the two earls to the ambassadors, to be conducted into England. But before they embarked at St. Maloes, the duke, beginning to doubt the sincerity of Edward's promises, sent his favourite, Peter Landois, who recovered the two earls out of the hands of the ambassadors, and placed them in a sanctuary. But, to give the king of England all possible satisfaction, the duke engaged to guard the two earls with so much care, that they should never give him any trouble (146). What Edward's real intentions were cannot be certainly known; though all our historians, without hesitation, pronounce them to have been of the most criminal and sanguinary nature.

The duke of Burgundy and the earl of St. Pol, constable of France, Edward's two principal allies in the late confederacy against Lewis, did not long survive the dissolution of that confederacy. The constable paid the forfeit of all his dark intrigues, by being beheaded at Paris, 19th December A. D. 1475; and the duke of Burgundy, after losing two battles against the Swiss, lost his life in a third against the duke of Lorraine, 5th Ja-

(145) Rym. Fœd. tom. 12. p. 30. 45.

(146) Rym. Fœd. tom. 12. p. 37. Hall, f. 48, 49. Holingsh. p. 2640. Stew, p. 429.

A. D. 1477. January A. D. 1477 (147). This brave, but rash imprudent prince, left his only daughter, Maria of Burgundy, heiress of his dominions and of his misfortunes, which were both very great.

Executions. Edward still continued to be exceedingly suspicious, and punished the slightest appearances of disaffection to his person and government with great severity. Two gentlemen, Thomas Burdet, of Arrow in Warwickshire, and John Stacy, a learned clergyman, fell victims to this cruel suspicious spirit. In the course of this year, the former of these was tried, condemned, and executed as a traitor, for an angry expression, which at present would be a subject of laughter, rather than of punishment; the latter was tried and put to death for the imaginary crime of necromancy (148).

Clarence
discontent-
ed.

But this spirit soon produced a more tragical scene, and hurried on king Edward to an unnatural act of cruelty, which in the end proved fatal to his own family. No cordial friendship had ever subsisted between the duke of Clarence and the queen's relations, who, by their influence with the king, produced a coolness between him and Clarence, which gradually increased into a most rancorous animosity, by unfriendly offices on the one side, and too strong expressions of resentment on the other. The duke had become a widower, by the death of his duchess Isabella, 22d December A. D. 1476; and Charles duke of Burgundy being killed in less than a fortnight after, his only daughter became the greatest heiress in the world. Clarence, who wanted not ambition, naturally turned his eyes towards this rich succession, and applied to his sister Margaret duchess-dowager of Burgundy, to promote his views. That princess, who loved him better than any of her other two brothers, warmly espoused his cause, and every thing wore a promising aspect. But Edward, who ought to have promoted this scheme with all his power, from policy as well as from natural affection to his brother, opposed it, and caused his queen's brother, Anthony Widville, earl Rivers, to be proposed as a proper husband to the young heiress; who was rejected with disdain. This cruel in-

(147) Cominas. l. 4. c. 12. l. 5. c. 1. 4. 8.

(148) Stow, p. 437. Hist. Croyl. p. 561.

jury sunk deep into the heart of Clarence, who seldom afterwards appeared at court, or in council; and when he did appear, was sullen, silent, and visibly discontented. The execution of Burdet and Stacy, who were his friends, and owed their death to their attachment to him, overcame his patience, and threw him off his guard. He went the day after to the council-chamber at Westminster, attended by W. Goddard, a celebrated divine, who had assisted the sufferers in their last moments, and gave in copies of the private and public declarations they had made of their innocence, and then withdrew (149).

A. D. 1477.

Edward, who wanted only a handle to wreak his vengeance on his unhappy brother, greedily laid hold on this, called a council of peers and prelates, to which he invited the mayor and aldermen of London, and, before them, loaded Clarence with many accusations, magnifying every indiscretion into a crime, and representing his last action as no less than high treason. The duke, with the consent of the council, was committed to the Tower, and on January 16, was tried for treason by his peers in parliament. The accusations brought against him were either grossly absurd or very trifling (150). The heaviest articles were,—That he had caused his servants to report, that the king was a necromancer,—and that Burdet was unjustly executed. This trial was managed in a very uncommon and indecent manner. The king was the only pleader against the prisoner; and the duke was the only person who dared to answer such a pleader. The witnesses too (as we are told by a contemporary historian, who was probably present) appeared more like prosecutors than witnesses (151). Clarence was condemned, and a sentence of death pronounced upon him, by Henry duke of Buckingham, who was high steward on that occasion. That one of the houses of parliament might have no cause to reproach the other with all the guilt, or to claim all the honour of this transaction, the commons were prevailed upon to appear at the bar of the house of peers, some time after, and demanded the execution of this sentence. It was accordingly executed

Clarence condemned, and executed.

(149) Hist. Croyl. p. 562.

(150) See Stow, p. 431, 432.

(151) Continuat. Hist. Croyl. p. 562.

A.D. 1478. privately in the tower, March 11; but by whom, or in what manner, the contemporary historian who gives the fullest account of this matter doth not say, and probably did not know (152). Fabian, who was then a young man, tells us, "he was drowned in a barrel of Malve-
" feya (153)."

Edward's
conduct.

Several of Clarence's estates were granted by Edward to the queen's brother, Anthony earl Rivers, on this hypocritical pretence, that as he had done the earl great injuries, it would be an advantage to his soul after death, that the earl got his estates (154). The king became more and more luxurious and expensive, and at the same time more oppressive and rapacious (155). Delighted with the regular payment of the 50,000 crowns a year by the king of France, which enabled him to pursue his pleasures; flattered with the prospect of a marriage between the dauphin and his eldest daughter; and influenced by the advice of his pensioned ministers; he permitted Lewis to attempt the ruin of the house of Burgundy without interruption.

A.D. 1479.
Pestilence.

Though England enjoyed peace at this time, the people were far from being happy. A destructive pestilence raged at London and in other places during the greatest part of this year (156). Edward, sunk in sloth and luxury, permitted himself to be amused with treaties and promises by the artful, perfidious Lewis, which that prince intended either to keep or violate as he found convenient. It is a sufficient proof of this, that though he now agreed, by a very solemn treaty, that he and his heirs should pay 50,000 crowns a-year to Edward during his life, and to his heirs for one hundred years after his death, he withdrew that payment as soon as he could do it with safety (157).

A.D. 1480.
Breach between Edward and the king of France.

It was one of the peculiarities in the character of Edward IV. that he engaged in treaties for the marriages of all his children almost as soon as they were born. But of all these marriages, he had none so much at heart as that of his eldest daughter, Elizabeth, with the dauphin, which had been agreed upon in the treaty of Amiens,

(152) Continuat. H.R. Croyl. p. 562.

(153) Fabian, an. 1478.

(154) Rym. Fœd. tom. 12. p. 95.

(155) H.R. Croyl. p. 562.

(156) Stow, p. 431.

(157) Rym. Fœd. tom. 12. p. 204.

A. D. 1475 (158). By one of the articles of that treaty, ^{A. D. 1480.} Lewis engaged to conduct the young princess into France, at his own expence, and to put her in possession of 60,000 livres a-year; but as he never intended the marriage should take effect, he was in no haste to perform this article. Edward at length became impatient and suspicious, and sent the lord Howard, in May this year, to the court of France, to demand the immediate execution of the above article. But Lewis being no longer under a necessity of dissembling, refused to comply with that demand, and threatened to withdraw the payment of the fifty thousand crowns a-year, stipulated by the same treaty.

Edward now began to open his eyes, and to perceive that he had been deluded by the deceitful Lewis. Enraged at this, he renewed, with Mary duchess of Burgundy, and her husband, Maximilian duke of Austria (to whom she had been married, A. D. 1477), the alliance which had been made between him and the late duke Charles; and engaged to send them an aid of six thousand archers, if Lewis did not agree to a truce or peace, under his mediation. Maximilian and Mary, on their part, agreed to pay him the 50,000 crowns a year, which had formerly been paid by France, if he engaged in a war with that crown on their account (150). Following the bent of his genius, he at the same time contracted a marriage between his daughter Ann, a child about four years of age, and Philip, son of Maximilian and Mary, an infant in his cradle; which, like all his contracts of that kind, came to nothing (160).

When Edward meditated a war against France, he resolved to prevent all interruption from Scotland, by assisting the discontented nobles of that kingdom, and embroiling it in a civil war. With this view, he appointed his brother Richard duke of Gloucester his lieutenant, and sent orders to the lords, knights, and gentlemen of the northern counties, to array all the men who were fit for war in those counties (161). Nothing, however, happened this year, but a few mutual incursions of little consequence, and an unsuccessful attempt on the town of Berwick.

(158) Id. *ibid.* p. 19.

(159) Rym. Fœd. tom. 12. p. 123—128.

(160) Id. *ibid.* p. 128—135.

(161) Id. *ibid.* p. 115—119.

A. D. 1481.

War with
Scotland.

King Edward made great preparations, in the spring of this year, for invading Scotland, both by sea and land (162). King James was no less active in preparing for a war with England, in which he was heartily supported by his subjects, who seem to have been much exasperated against the English, and particularly against the king. This appears from the acts of a parliament held at Edinburgh, in April, in which the most vigorous measures were adopted for resisting the rickar (robber) Edward, as he is constantly called in these acts (163). In consequence of this spirit, the people crowded from all parts to the royal standard; and an army of forty thousand men, it is said, assembled at Edinburgh, in August, and from thence marched towards England (164). Edward was so much alarmed at the approach of this formidable army, that he resolved to stand on the defensive; and that all men might be at leisure to take arms, he commanded all the courts to be shut, and put a stop to all proceedings at law till Michaelmas (165). But after all these preparations on both sides, no action of great importance happened in the course of this year.

A. D. 1482.

Peace with
Scotland.

Alexander duke of Albany, brother to the king of Scotland, having escaped out of the castle of Edinburgh, in which he had been imprisoned, was at this time in the court of England, and concluded a treaty of alliance with Edward, June 10. In this treaty Alexander called himself king of Scots, engaged to do homage to Edward for his crown, and to deliver the town and castle of Berwick to England; and Edward engaged to assist him with an army to obtain the crown (166). In consequence of this treaty, the dukes of Albany and Gloucester entered Scotland with a gallant army of 25,000 men, took the town, but not the castle, of Berwick, and then marched to Edinburgh, into which they were received without any opposition (167). Scotland was at this time in a most distracted state. The king, at variance with his chief nobility, was imprisoned, or had shut himself up in the castle of Edinburgh, and all government

(162) Rym. Fed. tom. 12. p. 130.

(163) Black. et., fol. 65, 66.

(164) Pitcairne History of Scotland, edit. 1728, p. 77.

(165) Rym. Fed. tom. 12. p. 141.

(166) Rym. Fed. tom. 12. p. 156.

(167) Hist. Croyl. p. 562.

was almost dissolved. In this extremity, a number of ^{A. D. 1482.} the nobility met at Haddington, and sent proposals for a peace to the dukes at Edinburgh; and, after a short negotiation, a peace was concluded, August 2 (168). Two days after, the provost and community of Edinburgh granted a bond to repay all that part of the marriage-portion of the princess Cecilia, contracted to the prince of Scotland, which had been paid, provided the king of England declared that it was his pleasure the contract should be dissolved (169). Peace being thus concluded, the duke of Gloucester, who seems to have acted with great moderation, returned with his army into England, and took the castle of Berwick in his way. This expedition cost Edward 100,000*l.* a great sum in those times; but the nation was so well pleased with the recovery of Berwick, that the next parliament thanked the duke of Gloucester for his good conduct, and confirmed several valuable grants that had been made to him by the king, his brother (170).

Edward, being at last convinced of the perfidy of the ^{A. D. 1483.} king of France, by receiving the news, that the dauphin, ^{Death of} who had been contracted to his daughter Elizabeth, ^{Edward IV.} A. D. 1477, was actually betrothed to Margaret, the infant daughter of Maximilian duke of Burgundy, at Paris, 4th January this year, that the contract was confirmed by the parliament of Paris, and celebrated with great rejoicings in that city, was enraged beyond measure, and breathed nothing but revenge (171). To execute this revenge, he prepared with great ardour for an expedition into France; and, to prevent interruption from Scotland, he concluded a new treaty of alliance with the duke of Albany, who had again revolted (172). But an enemy against whom there is no defence soon put a period to all his projects. He died at Westminster, April 9, in the 41st year of his age, and the 23d of his reign; but of what disease is not certainly known (173). A

(168) Rym. Fœd. tom. 12. p. 161.

(169) Id. *ibid.*

(170) Hist. Croyl. p. 563.

(171) Monstrelet, tom. 4. f. 71. Philip de Comines. l. 6. c. 9.

(172) Rym. Fœd. tom. 12. p. 173.

(173) Hist. Croyl. p. 564. Stow, p. 433.

A. D. 1483 contemporary writer says, that he was not affected with any particular disease, and seems to ascribe his unexpected death to the anguish of his mind, and the bad habit of his body, brought on by his excesses (174).

His issue.

Edward had by his queen three sons and seven daughters, of whom one son and two daughters died before him; and two sons and five daughters survived him, viz. Edward, his eldest son and successor, born in the sanctuary at Westminster, November 4, A. D. 1470;—Richard, duke of York;—Elizabeth, who was contracted to the dauphin, and afterwards married to Henry VII.—Cecilia, contracted to James prince of Scotland, and married to John viscount Wells;—Anne, contracted to Philip of Burgundy, and married to Thomas Howard duke of Norfolk;—Bridget, who became a nun at Delford;—and Catharine, contracted to the infante of Spain, and married to William Courtenay earl of Devonshire. Though he had many mistresses, he had not many natural children. He left a son by Elizabeth Lucie, named Arthur, who, having married Elizabeth heiress to her brother, John lord Lisle, was raised to that title by Henry VIII. and a daughter, named Elizabeth, who was married to Thomas lord Lumley (175).

Clarence's issue.

The unhappy duke of Clarence left also two children by his duchess Isabel, viz. Edward earl of Warwick, who fell an innocent victim to the cruel jealousy of Henry VII. A. D. 1499;—and Margaret, of whom we shall hear in the progress of this work (176).

Character of Edward IV.

Edward IV. was much admired, in his youth, for the beauty of his face and the handsomeness of his person; but before his death he became corpulent and bloated, by his intemperance (177). His address was easy, engaging, and familiar, which gained him the hearts of many, and the money of not a few, particularly of the fair sex (178). He never forgot the name or face of any person with whom he had once conversed; and he is even said to have known the characters and circumstances of every nobleman or gentleman of any consequence in

(174) Hist. Croyl. p. 563, 564.

(175) Dugdale, vol. 2. p. 312. 176.

(177) Philip de Comines, tom. 1, p. 197.

(176) Id. ibid. p. 165.

(178) Hall, f. 37.

his dominions (179). His great success in war (having ^{A. D. 1483.} gained nine pitched battles, in which he was present, and fought on foot, and never lost one) may be admitted as a sufficient proof of his military skill and courage, as well as of his good fortune. In a word, if his virtues had been equal to his endowments, he would have been both a great and good king. But that was not the case. His piety is indeed celebrated by the monk of Croyland; but it did not prevent him from violating his most solemn oaths, when he was prompted to it by passion, or the prospect of advantage (180). He was guilty of many acts of cruelty; and the unnatural murder of his brother Clarence must fix an indelible stain upon his character. Whenever he enjoyed peace, he abandoned himself to pleasure and the gratification of his appetites. On his passion for women he laid no restraint; and his imprudent and criminal indulgence of it plunged him into much distress and guilt, produced almost all the disorders of his reign, and all the calamities that befel his friends and family. The indulgence of vicious passions is as pernicious to princes as to private persons.

SECTION V.

From the accession of Edward V. A. D. 1483, to the accession of Henry VII. A. D. 1485.

EDWARD prince of Wales, the eldest son of Edward IV. was proclaimed king in London, April 9, ^{A. D. 1483.} (the day on which his father died), by the name of Edward V. (1). He was then only in the thirteenth year of ^{Edward V. proclaimed.} his age; but his title was so clear, that it was not imagined any dispute could possibly arise about his possession

(179) Hist. Croyl. p. 564.

(180) Id. ibid.

(1) Sir Tho. More, apud Kennet, vol. 1. p. 481.

A. D. 1483. of the throne; though many dreaded that very violent disputes would arise about the administration of the government during his minority.

State of
parties.

The court of England at this time was divided into two parties. One of these parties consisted of the queen and her relations, with such as attached themselves to them in order to obtain preferment; the other was composed of certain noblemen, who, by their long and faithful services, had gained the confidence of the late king, and had been thereby supported in their places, without any dependence upon or connection with the queen's relations. The chiefs of this last party were,—the dukes of Gloucester and Buckingham, with the lords Hastings, Howard, and Stanley. While Edward IV. lived, his authority checked the passions of both these parties, and kept them within decent bounds. He was not, however ignorant of their secret animosity; and therefore in his last sickness, he brought about a reconciliation between them, which, like almost all court-reconciliations, was neither sincere nor permanent (2).

Dispute in
council.

The great object which each of these parties had in view was, to get and keep possession of the person of the young king, that they might possess his power. At the time of his father's death, he resided at Ludlow castle, under the care of his uncle Anthony earl Rivers, who was his governor, attended by lord Richard Grey, his uterine brother, sir Thomas Vaughan, his chamberlain, and others of the same party (3). The queen and her friends proposed in council to raise a small army to escort the king to London, in order to his coronation; but this measure was strenuously opposed by the other party, who saw its tendency; and particularly by the lord chamberlain Hastings, who threatened to leave the court. The queen, unwilling to raise any disturbance in the beginning of her son's reign, agreed to limit the number of his attendants to two thousand (4). That the queen aspired to the regency, was suspected, and is not improbable; but cannot, I think, be proved: but that she wished, and hoped, that she and her relations would have as much

(2) Hall, Ed. IV. f. 60.

(4) H.R. Croyl. p. 564, 565.

(3) Sir T. More, p. 48r.

power in the present, as they had in the preceding reign, ^{A. D. 1483.} and that her enemies were determined to prevent this, if possible, is abundantly evident.

The duke of Gloucester was in the north of England, ^{Conduct of the duke of Gloucester.} preparing for a second expedition into Scotland, when he received intelligence of the king his brother's death. He immediately hastened to York, attended by six hundred of his friends, besides his usual retinue, all dressed in mourning. There he celebrated the late king's funeral, proclaimed his son Edward V. took an oath of fealty to that young prince, and enjoined the magistrates, nobility, and gentlemen of those parts, to take similar oaths. From thence, too, he wrote letters to the queen, and to her brother the earl Rivers, full of the warmest professions of friendship to them, and of loyalty to the king (5). What his real intentions were when he made these professions, I shall not so much as conjecture.

That the lord Hastings sent intelligence to the duke of Gloucester of the transactions in council, and the designs of the queen and her party at court, together with offers of his assistance to raise him to the regency, cannot be doubted. For though that lord had been most sincerely attached to Edward IV. (from whom he had received the honourable and lucrative offices of governor of Calais and chamberlain of England) and was no less sincerely attached to his son Edward V.; yet there was nothing he dreaded so much as to see the administration in the hands of the queen and her relations, by whom he knew he was hated. Gloucester at the same time received similar assurances from Henry Stafford duke of Buckingham, the most powerful nobleman then in England, who promised to join him immediately, at the head of his numerous vassals (6). Having received these assurances, and knowing that the noblemen, gentlemen, and people of the north of England were warmly engaged in his interest, he certainly determined to intercept the young king in his way to London, to take him out of the hands of his mother's relations, and thereby secure to himself the administration during his minority; but whether his views extended any further at this time or not, it seems impossible to discover.

(5) Hist. Croyl. p. 565;

(6) Hist. Croyl. p. 565. Sir T. More, p. 452. col. 2.

A. D. 1483.

The earl
Rivers and
others im-
prisoned.

To execute his designs, whatever they were, the duke of Gloucester departed from York, with a numerous retinue, and arrived, April 29, at Northampton, where he was joined by the duke of Buckingham, with nine hundred of his followers (7). The king being then on his way to London, lodged that night at Stony-Stratford, only ten miles from Northampton; and the earl Rivers, the lord Richard Grey, and some others, entertaining no suspicion of any ill design against them, waited on the two dukes, to concert measures about the king's journey, and approaching coronation. They were received by them with the greatest appearances of cordiality, and they spent the evening together in convivial mirth and pleasantries. But next morning, the earl Rivers, the lord Richard Grey, sir Thomas Vaughan, and sir Richard Hawse, were made prisoners, and sent to the castle of Pomfret in Yorkshire (8). All the king's other attendants and servants were dismissed, and a proclamation published, forbidding them to come near the court, under the pain of death (9).

Gloucester
comforts
the king.

This tumultuous seizure of his nearest relations, and arbitrary dismissal of all his friends and servants, struck the young king with grief and terror, and made him burst out into complaints and tears. When the duke of Gloucester came into his presence, he fell upon his knees, made the strongest professions of loyalty and affection to his person; assured him, that what had been done was for his preservation; and, in a word, he said and did every thing in his power to dry up the tears and dispel the terrors of the helpless, unhappy prince (10).

The queen
takes sanc-
tuary.

When the report of these unexpected events reached London, it occasioned great confusion, both at court and in the city. The queen, almost distracted with grief and terror, hastened, with her son the duke of York, and her five daughters, into the sanctuary at Westminster, where she had formerly found protection in her distress. The partisans of the different parties, in great crowds, and some of them in arms, had meetings and consultations; those of the queen's party in Westminster, and those of the duke of Gloucester's party, with the lord Hastings,

(7) Hist. Croyl. p. 565.

(8) Hist. Croyl. p. 565.

(9) Id. *ibid.*(10) Id. *ibid.* Sir T. More, p. 484.

in the city (11). In these consultations, no fixed resolutions could be formed, as the real intentions of those who had the king in their possession were unknown. A. D. 1483.

The lord Hastings, who (though an enemy to the queen and her relations) was heartily attached to the young king, and only meant to raise the duke of Gloucester to the regency, sent a messenger, at midnight, May 1, to Thomas of Rotherham, archbishop of York, and chancellor of England, to acquaint him with what had happened at Stony-Stratford, and to assure him, that the intentions of the lords who had seized the king were honourable, and for the good of the nation; and that all would end well. That prelate, alarmed at what he heard, immediately arose; and, taking the great seal with him, and attended by his servants in arms, hastened to the queen. He found that unhappy princess in the sanctuary, sitting on the floor, surrounded by her weeping children, herself bathed in tears, and bewailing the total destruction of herself and family. The good prelate laboured to dispel her terrors and revive her hopes, by telling her the comfortable message he had received from the lord Hastings. But the very name of Hastings, whose hatred to her and her family she well knew, increased both her fears and griefs. The archbishop, finding her apprehensions and sorrows were too great to be removed by words, gave her the strongest assurances of his own inviolable attachment; and, leaving the great seal with her as a pledge of his sincerity, retired. He soon became sensible of the error he had committed in leaving the seal; and, sending for it by a proper messenger, it was returned (12).

The duke of Gloucester and his partisans, having spent a day or two at Stony-Stratford, disposing of their prisoners, and forming their new arrangements, conducted the king to London; into which they entered, May 4, the duke riding baye-headed before his nephew, and calling to the people, "Behold your king." The young monarch was lodged in the bishop's palace; where, it is said, the duke renewed his oath of fealty, in which he was followed by all the prelates and nobles present, together with the mayor and aldermen of London (13).

(11) Sir T. More, p. 484. Hist. Croyl. p. 566.

(12) Sir T. More, p. 483.

(13) Sir T. More, p. 486. Hist. Croyl. p. 566.

A. D. 1483.

Duke of
Gloucester
protector.

Two or three days after, a great council was assembled, consisting of all the prelates, nobles, and great men about London; and by this council, the duke of Gloucester was unanimously chosen protector of the king and kingdom. By this council, too, after some deliberation, it was agreed, that the king should be lodged in the tower of London, the place from which the kings, in those times, commonly rode in state to Westminster, on the day before their coronation (14).

Popularity
of Gloucester.

The duke of Gloucester doth not seem to have been unpopular, but rather the contrary, at this period. If he had not been virtuous, he had been decent in his deportment, and avoided those excesses into which the king his brother had fallen. His wisdom was such, that, in the midst of a court torn by the most violent factions, he was not obnoxious to either party; and though he stood well with the ancient nobility, he had no quarrels with the queen or her relations. He had adhered steadily to the late king in all his fortunes, and made the strongest professions of loyalty and affection to his son.—In a word, if he had died at this time, or if he had never aspired higher than the protectorship, he would probably have been handed down to posterity with the character of a brave and wise prince.

Proclamations.

After the duke of Gloucester was invested with the protectorship, he proceeded with great seeming alacrity in preparing for the coronation of the young king, which was appointed to be at Westminster, June 22. To render that ceremony the more august and splendid, he required, by proclamation, May 20, all gentlemen who had £40 a-year in land, to come to London by June 18, to receive the honour of knighthood; and by particular letters, dated June 5, he invited fifty young noblemen and gentlemen, of the best families, to appear before the king in the tower of London, four days before his coronation, to receive the noble order of knighthood, probably meaning the order of the Bath (15). These measures were either indications that he really had an intention, so late as June 5, to crown his nephew on June 22, or they were designed to persuade the world that he

(14) *Id. ibid.*(15) *Rym. Fœd. tom. 12. p. 181. 185.*

had such an intention ; but which of these was the case, A. D. 1483
I shall not determine.

In the mean time, the council frequently met, sometimes at one place, and sometimes at another, to consult about the coronation, and other affairs. On Friday, June 13, one part of the council met at Westminster, to notify in form to the mayor and aldermen of London the day of the coronation ; and the other part of it met with the protector in the Tower. As this part of the council was deliberating on business, the door of the room was suddenly opened, and a party of armed men rushed in, crying treason ! treason ! One of them wounded the lord Stanley on the head with a pole-axe ; and they instantly seized that lord, with the archbishop of York, the bishop of Ely, and lord Hastings. The uproar was great, and the astonishment of the prisoners inexpressible, especially of lord Hastings, when he heard the protector (with whom he believed he stood in the highest favour) pronounce him a traitor, and command him to be immediately put to death. This cruel command was executed with equal cruelty ; and having allowed him only a few moments to confess to a priest, they beheaded him on a log of wood, which lay accidentally in the court of the Tower. The lord Stanley and the two prelates were imprisoned in different apartments of that fortress (16). What prompted the protector to imbrue his hands in the blood of a nobleman who had lately done him the most essential services, and with whom he had, to that moment, lived on the most friendly footing, I shall by and by inquire.

L. rd Hastings beheaded.

On the same day (June 13), a still more bloody tragedy was acted at Pomfret in Yorkshire. Sir Richard Ratcliffe, a great confidant of the protector, had, by his orders, collected an army of about 5000 men, in the north, and was conducting them towards London. When he arrived at Pomfret, he beheaded, without any trial, and with some circumstances of peculiar cruelty, An- Executions at Pomfret.

(16) Hist. Croyl. p. 566. Sir T. More. p. 494. Sir Thomas relates several other circumstances of this strange transaction ; but many of them are frivolous, and others of them highly improbable.

A. D. 1483. thony earl Rivers, the king's uncle, and the most accomplished nobleman of that age—the lord Richard Grey, the king's uterine brother—Sir Thomas Vaughan, who had been chamberlain to the king when prince of Wales—and Sir Richard Hawfe (17). That Ratcliffe perpetrated these horrid deeds in consequence of orders from the protector, cannot be doubted.

The duke of
York in the
Tower.

The protector, who still continued to wear the mask of loyalty to the king, held a council on Monday, June 16 (18). At this council it was suggested, that it would be highly indecent to see the duke of York in sanctuary among murderers, thieves, and robbers, at the time of his brother's coronation; and a deputation was appointed to wait upon the queen, and persuade her to permit the duke of York to leave the sanctuary. Cardinal Bourchier, archbishop of Canterbury, was put at the head of this deputation (much, it is said, against his will), and prevailed upon the queen, who certainly had not then heard of the cruel fate of her son and brother at Pomfret, to put the young prince into his hands, who conducted him to the Tower, and delivered him to the protector (19). A contemporary historian says, that the queen resigned her son to the archbishop willingly; but subsequent historians affirm (on what authority I know not), that it was with extreme reluctance, and only to prevent his being torn from her by force.

End of the
reign of Ed-
ward V.

The last act of royal authority that we know of that was performed by the unfortunate Edward V. or rather by the protector in his name, was giving commissions to three persons to provide oxen and sheep for the use of the household for six months, dated June 17 (20). This was certainly the last day of the reign, if a reign it can be called, of that unhappy prince. On that day a new and surprising scene began to be exhibited, to which we must now attend.

(17) Hist. Croyl. p. 567. Sir T. More, p. 495.

(18) The historian of Croyland is the only contemporary writer who gives a date to this transaction; and I have followed him, though I have some suspicion that he has placed it a little too late. Hist. Croyl. p. 566.

(19) Hist. Croyl. p. 566.

(20) Rym. Ford. tom. 12. p. 187.

It seems to be impossible to discover at what time Richard duke of Gloucester formed the plan of supplanting his nephew, and placing himself on the throne. If he had formed that plan before he took the oath of fealty to the young king, and engaged others to take it, he was guilty of great impiety ; but as the fact cannot be proved, he cannot be fairly convicted of that crime. If we could rely on the following relation of some of our historians, we should be led to think, that this design had been entertained much earlier than is commonly imagined. One Mistlebroke, say they, came to the house of one Pottier, a servant of the duke of Gloucester, in the night, and told him, that king Edward was dead ; then, said Pottier, my master will be king (21). That so obscure a person as Pottier should be in possession of such an important secret, is not very probable. One historian asserts, that Richard, in the reign of Edward IV. consulted the most famous lawyers in England about the grounds on which he afterwards claimed the crown ; and another affirms, that he had often expostulated with Edward himself on that subject (22). But what credit is due to these assertions, I shall not determine. At any rate, a plan for dethroning a young prince, who had succeeded his father with universal approbation, could not be formed and brought to maturity in a day, or even in a few days. It certainly required a considerable space of time to communicate this plan to a sufficient number of persons, and to gain their consent to its execution. That this plan was privately communicated to Buckingham, Howard, Ratcliffe, Catesby, the mayor of London, and many others, and their assent obtained, is very certain ; and that lord Hastings was put to death for refusing his assent, is asserted by almost all our historians. But how much time all this required cannot be ascertained.

The story that was now divulged, and propagated by the protector and his friends, on which he founded his own claim to the crown, and the exclusion of his nephew, was this: that the late king Edward IV. before he married the lady Grey, had been contracted, and

A. D. 1482.

When the protector formed his plot.

The protector's claim to the crown.

(21) Hall, f. 4. Ed. V. Sir T. More, p. 482.

(22) Id. *ibid.* Buck's Hist. Richard III. p. 585.

A.D. 1483. even privately married, to lady Eleanor Butler, widow of the lord Butler of Sudley; and that, in consequence of this pre-contract, or prior marriage, his subsequent marriage was illegal, and all his children by the queen were bastards (23). Whether this strange tale, true or false, was known before it was now published, or, if it was known, to what degree of notoriety it had attained, cannot be now discovered. Many reasons might be given to induce us to believe, that it had never been heard of till it was produced on this occasion. If the earl of Warwick or the duke of Clarence had been acquainted with it, when they were inflamed with the most violent hatred against the queen and her relations, and against the king on their account, would they not have published it to the world? Would it not have covered all their enemies with confusion, if they had made it known that the king and queen were living in adultery, and attempting to impose a spurious issue upon the nation? This would have effectually established the right of the duke of Clarence to the succession, and is it to be imagined, that a prince who had attempted to defame his own mother, in order to bastardise his brother (for which he was attainted by parliament), would have spared the queen, his mortal enemy, if he had known or suspected that her marriage was liable to the least objection? The queen had been crowned with great solemnity, provided for by parliament as queen of England, acknowledged by all the world as Edward's lawful wife to his death, and their children contracted to the greatest princes in Europe, without the least surmise of any flaw in their births. The nature of Edward's engagement with lady Butler is not well defined; nor is the truth of it well established. A contemporary author, of the best credit, only says, "It was alleged that he had made a contract with her (24)." Another contemporary writer indeed relates, "That the bishop of Bath said, that Edward had promised marriage to her in his presence, and that he had afterwards married them without any witnesses (25)." But neither the time nor the place of this pretended marriage were ever mentioned; the lady

(23) Hist. Croyl. p. 567.

(24) Hist. Croyl. p. 567.

(25) Philip de Comines, l. 5. c. 18. p. 435.

was dead; no witnesses had been present at it; and therefore it could not be proved, but by the single testimony of Stillington, bishop of Bath, who was a very wicked, ambitious man, and was tempted (as we are told by Philip de Comines) to make this declaration, by the pompous promises of the protector (26). That Edward had deluded the lady Butler by oaths and promises, and that Stillington, then a profligate young priest, was in the secret, and assisted in the delusion, might be true; but that he had contracted any engagements with her that rendered his subsequent marriage illegal, and all his children bastards, there is not sufficient evidence. The protector got rid of the claims of Edward earl of Warwick and his sister, the children of his elder brother Clarence, by the attainder of their father.

A. D. 1483.

This whole affair seems to have been a scene of great iniquity, in which the protector was the principal actor, assisted by many great accomplices. Having observed that the greatest part of the ancient nobility both feared and hated the queen and her relations, and dreaded that when the young king came of age, his mother would instigate him to revenge the murder of her son and brother, by whom he had been educated, and the many cruel injuries that had been done to her and her family; he believed it would not be difficult to persuade them to raise him to the throne, as they had raised him to the protectorship, as the only effectual way of securing themselves from danger. He made the trial; and, with the help of liberal promises, he generally succeeded. But some pretence was wanting to set aside the numerous issue of the late king; and no pretence would answer that purpose, but that of their being bastards. The gallantries of Edward, and the profusion of his promises and oaths to several ladies, in order to seduce them, were not unknown. Stillington, who had been imprisoned by the late king, and was one of Richard's most zealous partisans, furnished them with one story; and if that had not been furnished, another would have been found (27). It plainly appears, that the protector himself did not lay much stress on this story: for in the act of parliament bastardising Edward's issue, many other objections are

Schemes of the duke of Gloucester.

(26) Id. l. 6. c. 9. p. 497.

(27) Philip de Comines, vol. 1. p. 497.

A. D. 1483. made to his marriage, all of them trifling, and some of them perfectly ridiculous; and the tale of lady Butler is brought in at the end, without any name of its author, or evidence of its truth (28).

Shaw's sermon.

The protector's scheme being now ripe for execution, he prevailed upon Dr. Ralph Shaw, a celebrated preacher, brother to the mayor of London, to publish his claim to the crown, in a sermon at Paul's-cross, on Sunday June 22 (29). The doctor, it is said, overacted his part, and did not content himself with bastardising king Edward's children, but asserted, that Edward himself and the duke of Clarence had been bastards, at the expence of the character of Cecily duchess of York, the protector's mother (30). But that he carried his folly and impudence to this length, especially as the protector was present, may be doubted (31). It is still more incredible, that (as some of our historians affirm) he called the lady to whom he alleged king Edward had been precontracted, lady Elizabeth Lucy, instead of lady Eleanor Butler (32). Fabian, who resided then in London, and was perhaps present at this famous sermon, says, "It was to the great abucion of all the audience, except such as favoured the matter, which were few in number, if the truth or plainness might have been shewed (33).

Buckingham's speech at Guildhall.

The duke of Buckingham made an eloquent harangue on the same subject, June 24, to the mayor, aldermen, and citizens of London, from the hustings in Guildhall, endeavouring to convince them that king Edward's children were bastards, and that the protector was the only person who had a right to the crown. All admired his eloquence, though many, it is said, were not convinced by his arguments; but some of the audience having tossed up their caps, and cried, Long live king Richard! the duke interpreted that cry as the unanimous voice of the

(28) Parliament. Hist. vol. 2. p. 389. One of their objections to the marriage is, that king Edward had been bewitched by the lady Grey's mother; and this the parliament gravely undertake to prove.

(29) Fabian, f. 224.

(30) Sir T. More, p. 497.

(31) See the honourable Mr. Walpole's excellent work, intitled, "Historic Doubts," which hath thrown much light on this perplexed part of our history, p. 37, &c.

(32) Mr. Walpole's Historic Doubt, p. 41.

(33) Fabian, f. 224.

citizens of London, acknowledging the protector's title A. D. 1483.
 to the crown. He returned them his most hearty thanks, accompanied with promises of many favours and much felicity in the future reign; and then desired the mayor, aldermen, and chief citizens, to meet him next day, to petition the protector to take upon him the crown, expressing great apprehensions that his excessive modesty, and wonderful affection to his brother's children, would make him reject their petition (34).

Accordingly, on Wednesday, June 25, the duke of Buckingham, and several noblemen, with the mayor and aldermen, went to Baynard's castle, where the protector ^{The crown offered to the protector.} then was, and requested an audience on a matter of great importance. The protector at first seemed to be much alarmed at so great a concourse, and to dread some design against his person, but was at length prevailed upon to take courage, and to give them audience. When they came into his presence, the duke of Buckingham, having requested and obtained leave to speak, made a long harangue on the miseries and tyranny of the late reign, the illegality of Edward's marriage, the illegitimacy of his children, the protector's undoubted title to the crown; and concluded with an earnest request to him, in the name of that assembly, to take that crown to which he was so well intitled. The protector appeared to be surprised at this proposal. He acknowledged the truth of all the duke had advanced, but declared, that his love to his brother's children was greater than his love to a crown. The duke, returning to the charge, assured him that none of Edward's children should ever reign over them; and at last dropped a hint, that if he persisted in refusing the crown, they would offer it to another, who would not refuse it. The protector seemed to be startled at that hint, began to hesitate, desired a little time to consider, and gave them cause to hope that he would yield to reason and importunity (35).

The last scene of this political farce, or rather tragedy, ^{The protector accepts the crown.} was acted on Thursday, June 26. In the morning of that day, all the prelates, lords, and great men of the protector's party, with their numerous followers, came to Baynard's castle, "and (to use his own words) por-

(34) Sir T. More. p. 498.

(35) Id. *ibid.*

A. D. 1483. "rected to him a bill of petition, wherein his sure and
 "true title was evidently shewed and declared. Where
 "upon the king's highnis (so he now called himself),
 "notably assisted by wel nere al the lords spiritual and
 "temporall of this royalme, went the same day unto
 "the palais at Westminster, and ther, in such roial ho-
 "nourable apparrelled, within the gret hal ther toke
 "possession, and declared his mind, that the same day
 "he wold begin to reyne upon his people; and from
 "thence rode solemnly to the cathedral church of
 "London, and was received ther with procession with
 "gret congratulation and acclamation of all the people
 "in every place (36)."

Assisted by
 an armed
 force.

Richard III. (as he must now be called) in making his way to the throne, had not trusted entirely to the clearness of his title, the number of his noble friends, or the favour of the people. He had brought a considerable body of armed followers with him to London; his chief accomplice, the duke of Buckingham, had brought a still greater number, and had sent for many more from Wales; and an army of about five thousand men had arrived from the north. All these (as we are told by a contemporary historian) constituted "a terrible and unheard-of number of armed men (37)." These troops, it is said, did not make a very gay appearance, and were laughed at by the citizens of London, for their shabby dress and rusty armour (38). But these forces were certainly very formidable, especially as they were commanded by sir Richard Ratcliffe, who had given many proofs, and one very lately at Pomfret, that he was capable of perpetrating the most horrid and atrocious deeds. It would be great injustice, therefore, to deny these troops their share of the honour or infamy of this revolution.

Coronation.

Richard III. was proclaimed by that name in London, June 27, and on the same day delivered the great seal to the bishop of Lincoln, one of the spiritual lords who had contributed to his elevation (39).

(36) This is a part of the account of his accession to the throne that Richard III. sent to the garrison at Calais, to persuade them to take an oath of fealty to him, which they refused, because they had taken an oath to Edward V. The whole account is very pompous, and in several particulars not strictly true. Back, apud Kennet, p. 522. Note.

(37) Hist. Croyl. p. 566.

(38) Fabian, f. 225.

(39) Rymer. Fœd. t. 14. p. 189.

As the ceremony of coronation was considered in those times as almost essential to royalty, Richard made great haste to be crowned; and the preparations that had been made for the coronation of his nephew, enabled him to be sooner ready. It appears from his coronation roll, which is still extant, that various robes were ordered, on that occasion, for lord Edward, son of the late king Edward IV. and his attendants; which makes it probable that it was once intended that he should walk at his uncle's coronation (40). But it is highly probable that on second thoughts the design was laid aside. So wise a man as Richard would soon reflect, that the sight of the helpless degraded prince would excite compassion for him, and indignation against his oppressor, in every feeling heart. So singular a circumstance, as a degraded king walking at the coronation of his successor, who had degraded him, would have been the subject of much conversation, and would certainly have been recorded; and yet neither Fabian, nor the historian of Croyland, who flourished at that time, nor any subsequent historian, mention such a circumstance. On the contrary, Fabian tells us, that as soon as Richard accepted the sovereignty, "the prince, or of right, king Edward V. with his brother the duke of York, were put under surer keepynge in the Towre, in such wyse that they never came abroad after (41)." A few days before the coronation, John lord Howard was created duke of Norfolk, and appointed high steward (42). About the same time he conferred honours and offices on several of his most active friends; and the archbishop of York, and lord Stanley, having complied with the times, were set at liberty (43). At length all things being ready, Richard, with his consort Ann Nevile, youngest daughter of the great earl of Warwick, were crowned, at Westminster, July 6, with the usual solemnities (44).

A.D. 1483.

The treasures amassed by Edward IV. for his intended expedition into France, were seized by Richard, and gained him many friends, or at least accomplices, by enabling him to reward them (45). Nor was he a nig-

First acts of Richard III.

(40) Historic Doubts, p. 65, 66.


(42) Rym. Wæd. t. 12. p. 191.

(44) Id. ibid.

(41) Fabian, f. 225.

(43) Buck, p. 525.

(45) Hist. Croyl. p. 567.

A.D. 1483.  gard in the distribution of his bounty. In particular, he amply rewarded his northern forces, and sent them home contented (46). He sent ambassadors to several foreign princes to announce his accession and cultivate their friendship (47). To his envoy to the court of Brittany, he gives authority—"to negotiate any business he thought proper, even though it was of such a nature as to require a special mandate,"—which plainly points at a secret negotiation about the earl of Richmond, probably with a view to get him into his hands (48). At the same time, he treated the countess of Richmond with great respect, and appointed her husband, the lord Stanley, steward of the household. His chief accomplice, the duke of Buckingham, he loaded with estates and honours (49). In a word, he neglected nothing to content his friends, to gain or to guard against his enemies.

A progress. Having settled all affairs in London, and set a guard about the sanctuary at Westminster, to prevent the escape of the queen or her daughters, he set out on a progress with his queen and son, and a splendid court (50). In this progress he spent some days at Oxford; and at the request of the university he released the bishop of Ely from his confinement in the Tower, and committed him to the custody of the duke of Buckingham, which produced effects equally surprising and unexpected (51). At Gloucester, Coventry, and all other places, Richard courted popularity by every art, and laboured to raise expectations of a mild and equitable reign. The duke of Buckingham left the court at Gloucester in the most perfect good humour, and went to his castle of Brecknock, to which he had before sent his prisoner the bishop of Ely.

Story of the murder of the two princes. When Richard was at Gloucester in the course of this progress, he sent, it is said, one of his pages to sir Robert Brakinbury, constable of the Tower of London, with a letter or message, commanding him to murder the two young princes, Edward V. and his brother Richard

(46) Hall, Richard III. f. 2.

(47) Rym. Fœd. tom. 12. p. 193, 194, 195, 198, 199, &c.

(48) Id. ibid. p. 194.

(49) See a list of these in Kennet, vol. 1. p. 530. note n.

(50) Hist. Croyl. p. 567.

(51) Sir T. More, p. 500. Back, p. 525.

duke of York. Sir Robert declining that detestable office, sir James Tyrrel, master of the horse, was sent from the court at Warwick, with a commission to command in the Tower one night, and in that night the two young princes were suffocated in their beds, by two ruffians called Miles Forrest and John Dighton, and buried at the stair-foot, from whence their bodies were removed by the chaplain of the Tower, to a place that was never discovered (52). This strange story was first told by sir Thomas More, as one of the various tales he had heard concerning the death of the two princes; and though it is very improbable, if not evidently false in some particulars; it hath been adopted by many subsequent historians (53).

About the end of August the court arrived at York, to which the nobility, clergy, and gentry of the north, came in crowds. Richard, in order to please them and secure their favour, resolved to entertain them with a coronation. Accordingly he and his queen were crowned in the cathedral-church of that northern capital, by archbishop Rotherham, September 8, and on the same day he created his only legitimate son Edward, then about eight years of age, prince of Wales (54). The duke of Albany, and the ambassador of Ferdinand and Isabella, king and queen of Castile and Arragon, assisted at this coronation, which was uncommonly magnificent (53).

But Richard's tranquillity was of short duration: clouds began to gather in several places, and to threaten him with a dreadful storm. As soon as he departed from London, on his progress into the north, the people of Kent, Essex, Suffex, Hampshire, Dorsetshire, Devonshire, Somersetshire, Wiltshire, Berkshire, and other southern counties, no longer overawed by the northern and Welsh armies, began to murmur at the late transactions. The gentlemen of these counties had private meetings, and formed associations for releasing Edward V. from the Tower, and restoring him to the throne (56). Richard had still a more dangerous enemy who was se-

(52) Sir T. More, p. 500, 501.

(53) See Walpole's Historic Doubts, p. 51—59.

(54) Hist. Croyl. p. 567. G. Buck, p. 527.

(55) Rym. Fœd. tom. 12. p. 200.

(56) Hist. Croyl. p. 568.

A. D. 1483. cretly plotting his destruction. This was his chief accomplice, Henry duke of Buckingham, who had been the great instrument of his elevation. It is impossible to discover the motives that determined Buckingham to pull down the person he had so lately raised (57). It is most probable that his perfect knowledge of his own and of Richard's character was his principal motive. It is impossible that any real friendship or confidence could subsist between two men who had plotted together the death of lord Rivers, lord Hastings, lord Grey, and others, when they were professing the greatest friendship for them. Buckingham might very naturally fear that Richard would take an opportunity of treating him as he had treated these noblemen, in order to get possession of his immense wealth; and that his prisoner John Morton, bishop of Ely, the most artful man in the world, might, by his hints and insinuations, increase those fears. However this may be, it is perfectly certain that Buckingham, soon after his arrival at his castle of Brecknock, formed the design of dethroning Richard, and corresponded with the malcontents in the south and west of England about the execution of that design (58).

In favour of
Henry earl
of Rich-
mond.

None of the two jejune historians of those times say, that the duke of Buckingham had originally the same views with the other malcontents, of restoring Edward V. though that is not improbable (59). But, in August, a report was circulated, and generally believed, that the two young princes were murdered in the Tower. This obliged all the conspirators to look out for a proper person to substitute in the place of Richard (60). In more orderly and peaceful times, it would never have been imagined, that Henry earl of Richmond had any pretensions to the crown. He was descended by his mother from one of the natural sons of John of Gaunt duke of Lancaster, by Katharine Swineford. It is true, that when the duke married that lady, he procured the legitimization, by parliament, of the children he had by her in the time of his former marriage; but in the very act of le-

(58) Several historians say, it was because he refused to grant him the whole earldom of Hereford. But there is the clearest evidence that he granted him the whole. Dugdale, vol. 1. p. 168, 169.

(59) Hist. Croyl. p. 568.

(60) Id. ibid. Fabian.

(60) Hist. Croyl.

gitimation there is an exception of the crown and royal ^{A. D. 1493.} dignity, of which they are declared incapable. Besides this, there were several princes and princesses, both in Spain and Portugal, legitimate descendants of John of Gaunt, by his second wife Constantia heiress of Castile; but they were too far distant, and do not seem to have entertained any thoughts of asserting their claims to the crown of England. There were also several princes and princesses of the house of York, whose titles were still better. But the earl of Richmond possessed some advantages, which recommended him to the conspirators, as the most proper person to set up in opposition to Richard. He was in the prime of life, and had long been considered by the Lancastrian party in England as the representative of that family; and it was proposed to supply the defect in his title by his marriage with the princess Elizabeth, eldest daughter of Edward IV. and thereby unite the two roses, and put an end to that fatal quarrel which had almost ruined England. The queen, and the countess of Richmond, Henry's mother, entered warmly into that scheme, which makes it probable that the queen believed her two sons were dead. Messengers were sent to the court of Brittany, to acquaint Henry with this scheme (of his consent to which no doubt was entertained); and to entreat him to come into England as soon as possible, with all the force he could collect (61).

Though these transactions were conducted with all Richard's possible secrecy, they did not escape the vigilance of ^{preparati-} Richard. Soon after his coronation at York, he was informed, that plots were forming against him in the south; and, immediately suspecting the duke of Buckingham, he endeavoured, first by promises, and afterwards by threats, to bring him to court. But both were ineffectual. He then exerted himself, with great activity, to raise forces in the north, and other parts, to oppose his enemies (62). Being joined by the earl of Northumberland, and other great men, with their followers, he directed his march towards Wales; having sent orders before, to Sir Thomas Vaughan and his other friends in those parts,

(61) Hall, f. 12—14. Holingsht. p. 1409.

(62) Hall, Grey: p. 568.

A. D. 1483. to watch the motions of the duke of Buckingham, to break down the bridges on the Severn, promising them the plunder of the castle of Brecknock, for their encouragement (63).

Buckingham's insurrection.

The conspirators, by concert, set up their standards all in one day, October 18, in several different places, to distract their enemies—the duke of Buckingham at Brecknock—the marquis of Dorset, sir Edward Courtenay, &c. at Exeter—sir John Brown, sir Thomas Lawkner, &c. at Maidstone—sir William Norris, sir William Berkeley, &c. at Newbury—and sir Richard Widvile, sir Richard Beauchamp, &c. at Salisbury. The king, on October 19, was at Grafton in Northamptonshire, ready to march into Wales, or into the west, as occasion might require (64). The duke of Buckingham directed his march towards the Severn, in order to pass that river, and join his confederates; and if that junction had been effected, Richard would probably have been dethroned. But such heavy rains fell for several days, that the Severn overflowed its banks, and deluged the country, to a degree that never had been known, and was long remembered by the name of *Buckingham's flood*. His Welsh troops were so much discouraged by this, that they disbanded, and returned home; which obliged him to dismiss all his servants, disguise his person, and conceal himself in the house of one Bannister, a dependent on his family, not far from Shrewsbury (65).

Proclamation.

The news of this surprising turn of affairs were brought to Richard at Leicester, and he immediately (October 23) issued a proclamation, granting a pardon to all the common people who should desert their leaders, and offering great rewards to any who should apprehend the duke of Buckingham, the marquis of Dorset, the bishops of Ely and Salisbury, and several knights and gentlemen, who are therein named. For the duke, he offered £ 1000. in money, or £ 100. a-year in land—for the marquis and each of the bishops, 1000 marks in money, or 100 marks a-year in land—for each of the knights, one half of that sum (66).

(63) Id. *ibid*.

(64) Rym. Fœd. tom. 12. p. 203.

(65) Hall, f. 15. Stow, p. 463. Holingsh. p. 1403.

(66) Rym. Fœd. tom. 12. p. 204.

In this curious proclamation, the immaculate Richard ^{A. D. 1483.} expresses the most violent indignation against whoredom, of which he says his enemies were notoriously guilty, particularly the marquis of Dorset,—“ who, to the perille of his soule, hath many and fundry maydes, “ wydowes, and wives, dampnably, and without shame, “ devoured, deflowred, and defouled, holding the un- “ shampful and myschivous woman, called Shore’s wife, “ in adultery (67).”

This proclamation had a considerable effect. The perfidious Bannister, enticed by the greatness of the reward; discovered his unfortunate guest to John Mitton, sheriff of Shropshire, who apprehended and conducted him to Salisbury; where, without any trial, he was beheaded. November 1 (68).

The followers of the other conspirators, enticed by the promise of pardon on the one hand, and discouraged by the disaster that had befallen the duke of Buckingham on the other, deserted them; which compelled them to abandon their enterprise, and consult their safety by flight. Some of them, as the marquis of Dorset, the bishops of Ely and Exeter, and a great number of knights and gentlemen, escaped to the continent; others took shelter in sanctuaries; and others concealed themselves in the country. In this manner was this formidable insurrection terminated in a few days, and without a blow (69).

In the mean time, the earl of Richmond had been very active; and having got together a small army, and a fleet of forty ships, he sailed from St. Maloe’s, October 12. But on the next day, his fleet was dispersed by a violent storm, which drove the greatest part of it back to the continent. The earl’s ship weathered the storm, and approached the coast of England near Poole, where he hovered several days, in expectation of being joined by the rest of his fleet. Being disappointed in this expectation, he found himself under a necessity of abandoning his enterprise; and in his return, he

(67) Id. *ibid.*

(68) Hall, f. 16. Stow, p. 465. Holingsh. p. 1403. Hist. Croyl. p. 568.

(69) Hall, f. 16. Stow, p. 465. Holingsh. p. 1403. Hist. Croyl. p. 568.

A. D. 1483. was obliged to land in Normandy, where he received the disagreeable news of the dispersion of his friends in England; and on his arrival in Brittany, he there found the marquis of Dorset, and many other fugitives (70).

Punish-
ments.

Richard, transported with joy at so many fortunate events, marched from Salisbury, November 2, at the head of a gallant army, and proceeded to Exeter, reducing all those parts to order and submission, and punishing such of the leaders of the late insurrection as had been apprehended. Amongst these was his own brother-in-law, Sir Thomas St. Leger, who was, with several others, executed at Exeter, though great interest was made, and a great sum of money was offered for his life (71). The number of persons executed on this occasion was not very great; as all yeomen and common people were pardoned by the proclamation, and many of their leaders escaped beyond sea, or into sanctuaries, which every where abounded, and were esteemed inviolable.

King re-
turns to
Westmin-
ster.

Richard, having reduced all to quiet, rewarded and sent home a great part of his northern troops, on whom he had chiefly depended (72). He then returned towards the capital, and was met at Kingston by the mayor and aldermen; with about 500 citizens, nobly mounted and richly dressed, who conducted him through the city to Westminster, where he celebrated the feast of Christmas with great pomp (73).

A. D. 1484.
Parliament.

Richard seemed now to be firmly seated on the throne, all his powerful enemies being either laid in the dust, or driven out of the kingdom. He wisely embraced that opportunity to call a parliament; because he well knew, that in these circumstances he could easily influence it to do what he pleased. This parliament met at Westminster, on Friday, January 20, and made several good and popular laws; but at the same time effectually answered the political views of Richard, and did whatever he was pleased to dictate (74). That petition which had been presented to him when he assumed the

(70) Hist. Croyl. p. 568.

(71) Id. ibid.

(72) Hist. Croyl. p. 570.

(73) Id. ibid. Fabian, f. 226.

(74) Statutes at Large, vol. 2. p. 54.

government, was now converted into an act of parliament, declaring the marriage of Edward IV. and lady Grey illegal, and all their children bastards, and settling the crown on Richard and his posterity (75). Many of the members (says a contemporary historian) were influenced by fear to give their consent to that act (76). All persons of any note, who had been concerned in the late insurrections, were attainted, and their estates confiscated; which brought a prodigious accession both of power and wealth to the crown (77).

During the sitting of this parliament, one day in the month of February, Richard assembled all the members of both houses in a certain room in his palace, and there produced to them, in writing, an oath to support the succession of his son, Edward prince of Wales, to the crown, which he engaged or obliged them all both to swear and subscribe (78).

This parliament had the cruelty (at whose instigation it may be easily guessed) to strip the queen-dowager of all the estates that had been settled upon her by the late king, and confirmed to her by parliament (79). That unhappy princess, reduced to poverty as well as overwhelmed with disgrace, and seeing no prospect of relief from either, began to listen to Richard's persuasions, to leave the sanctuary, and to put herself and her five daughters into his hands. To encourage her to do this, he took a solemn oath in the house of peers, March 1, —“ That if she would come to him out of the sanctuary at Westminster, he would provide for her and for her daughters as his kinswomen; and they should be in no danger of their lives: and that he would allow her 700 marks a-year, and her daughters 200 marks a-piece for their portions in marriage, and would take care to marry them to gentlemen (80).” How dishonourable a transaction was this! a king of England swearing before his spiritual and temporal lords, that he would not murder five innocent young ladies, the daughters of his own brother, and of their late fove-

(75) Parliament. Hist. vol. 2. p. 385, &c.

(76) Hist. Croyl. p. 570.

(77) Id. *ibid.*

(78) Id. *ibid.*

(79) Buck, apud Kennet, p. 528. Note.

(80) Buck, apud Kennet, p. 528. Note.

A. D. 1484. reign! how pitiful a provision did Richard propose to make for his unhappy nieces, who he knew had lately stood contracted to the greatest princes in Europe! and yet, such was the distress of the wretched queen, that she accepted these humiliating terms, and trusted her own life and the lives of her daughters to the security of Richard's oath.

Death of
Edward
prince of
Wales.

Richard soon found, that the greatest prosperity could not secure him from the deepest distress. After the dissolution of parliament, he made a progress, with his queen and court, into the north; and at Nottingham received the afflictive news, that his only legitimate child, Edward prince of Wales, on whom he doted, had died at Middleham castle, April 9, after a short illness (81). Both Richard and his queen were so much affected with this news, that, as a contemporary historian tells us, they almost run mad (82).

Earl of
Richmond
flees to
France.

Richard was soon roused from this excessive sorrow for his son, by receiving intelligence from his ambassador at the court of Brittany, that the earl of Richmond and the English exiles were meditating another attempt against his government. To prevent, if possible, that attempt, he directed his ambassador to renew his negotiations with the duke of Brittany, or rather with his favourite Peter Landois, for the delivery of the earl of Richmond into his hands. Francis II. duke of Brittany, the generous protector of the exiled earl, had for some time been in a declining state of health, which had impaired his capacity for business, and made him commit the management of all his affairs to his favourite, who was at length overcome by the splendid offers of the king of England; and a bargain was struck for the surrender of the earl of Richmond (83). Though this negotiation was conducted with great secrecy, John Morgan, bishop of Ely, got a hint of it, which he communicated to the earl, who fled into France, and was followed by the English

(81) Hist. Croyl. p. 571.

(82) Id. ibid. This is a literal translation of the words of the historian of Croyland, who lived at no great distance from Nottingham, and had probably heard of some of their actions or words, which indicated that the excess of their grief had in some degree disordered their minds.

(83) Argentri, l. 13. c. 26.

exiles (84). The fugitives were kindly received by madam de Beaujeu, who had the chief direction of the affairs of France during the minority of her brother Charles VIII. ; and were encouraged to hope for assistance.

A. D. 1484.

In the mean time, Richard, not trusting wholly to his foreign negotiations, made every possible preparation for giving his enemies a warm reception, if they landed. To secure the attachment of the Yorkists, he declared his nephew, John de la Pole, earl of Lincoln, eldest son of his sister Elisabeth, and of John duke of Suffolk, his heir and successor (85). That he might have no other enemies upon his hands, he concluded a truce with James III. king of Scotland, for three years, September 21 ; and at the same time, a marriage was agreed upon between James prince of Scotland, and his niece the lady Ann of Suffolk (86). To gain intelligence of the designs of his enemies abroad, he employed many spies—he stationed men and horses on all the principal roads in England, at the distance of about twenty miles from one another, to bring him the news of any landing on the coasts, or commotion in the country—and he fitted out a fleet to guard the seas. To increase the zeal of his northern friends, on whom he chiefly depended, he granted them many of the forfeited estates in the south, on which they settled, and acted as spies upon their disaffected neighbours (87). Having taken these prudent precautions, he returned to London, September 29, and celebrated the feast of Christmas at Westminster, with uncommon splendour (88).

Richard's precautions.

On Epiphany, January 6, as Richard, in his royal robes, with his crown on his head, was celebrating that festival, he received intelligence from one of his spies abroad, that the earl of Richmond would most certainly invade England next spring or summer. He affected to rejoice at this news, as it would give him an opportunity (he said) of crushing all his enemies. But when he came to enquire, he found his exchequer was low, and that he was but ill provided with the sinews of war.

A. D. 1485.
Raises money by benevolence.

(84) *Id. ibid.* Philip de Comines, l. 5. c. 18. p. 437. *Histoire de France*, par Garnier, tom. 19. p. 394, &c.

(85) Buck, p. 535.

(86) *Rym. Fœd. t. 12. p. 235, &c.*

(87) *Hist. Croyl. p. 571.*

(88) *Id. ibid.*

A.D. 1485. For though he had suppressed the late insurrections without any expence of blood, it was not without much expence of treasure, of which he had not been sparing. To replenish his exhausted coffers, he had recourse to that mode of raising money called *benevolence*, against which an act had been made in the very last parliament (89). This measure was as imprudent as it was illegal; especially as the persons employed by him to solicit, or rather to demand these benevolences, acted, as it is said, in a very tyrannical manner; which diminished Richard's popularity in some parts of the kingdom, and increased the prevailing odium against him in others (90).

Richard
proposes to
marry the
princess Eli-
sabeth.

The queen-consort, who had for some months been in a declining state of health, died March 16; and though Richard hath been boldly charged by many of our historians with the guilt of hastening her death by various means, there is certainly no evidence that he committed that crime (91). He was not, however, ignorant, that the plan of his enemies was, to unite the houses of York and Lancaster, by a marriage between the earl of Richmond and the princess Elisabeth, eldest daughter of Edward IV. and that all Richmond's hopes of success depended on the execution of that plan. Being now a widower, he formed the design of defeating that scheme, by marrying the princess himself; and we have even some reason to believe, that he had formed that design when he saw his queen in a languishing way; and that he had conveyed some hints of his intention to the princess, who had appeared at court at Christmas every day in the same dress with the queen (92). However that may be, it is certain, that kings court the fair with great advantage, and the lustre of a crown is apt to dazzle the brightest eyes. Both the young princess and the queen her mother consented to this unnatural alliance, with a man who had done them the most cruel injuries, but now enticed them by the most tempting promises. The queen com-

(89) Statutes at Large, vol. 2. p. 54.

(90) Hist. Croyl. p. 571, 572.

(91) Id. p. 572. Hall, f. 24. 25. Stow, p. 467. Rapin, vol. 1. p. 614. See Mr. Walpole's Historic Doubts, p. 74.

(92) Hist. Croyl. p. 572.

municated the design to her son the marquis of Dorset, ^{A. D. 1435.} who was at Paris with the earl of Richmond, and intreated him to return to England, to receive the honours that had been promised him by Richard (93).

The news of this intended marriage alarmed the earl of Richmond, and made him hasten his preparations for invading England. He had been lately joined by the brave John de Vere, earl of Oxford, who had been twelve years a prisoner in the castle of Hams in Picardy—by Sir James Blount, governor of that castle—Sir John Fortescue, porter of Calais—and by several young English gentlemen, who were students in the university of Paris; who, with the English exiles, and about 2000 French adventurers, made up an army of about 3000 men (74). With this small army, Henry earl of Richmond sailed from Harfleur in Normandy, August 1, and landed at Milford-haven on the 7th day of that month (95).

Though Richard had received intelligence of the intended invasion from his spies, he never could discover in what part of the kingdom his enemies designed to land; which threw him into great perplexity. His mind was also haunted with tormenting doubts and fears of the infidelity of almost all around him; and he knew not whom to trust. His suspicions were particularly strong of his great friend Thomas lord Stanley, constable of England, because he was married to Margaret countess of Richmond, his competitor's mother: and though that nobleman made the strongest professions of loyalty, he was obliged to leave his eldest son, George lord Strange, as a hostage, before he could obtain permission to go into the country to raise his followers. Having sent his chief confident, lord Lovel, to Southampton to equip a fleet, he took his station at Nottingham, from whence he issued proclamations to all his subjects to join his standard, denouncing destruction on those who did not obey (96). Here he received the news of the landing of his enemies, and of the smallness of their number, and contented him-

(93) Id. *ibid.*

f. 25. Stow, p. 468.

(95) Hist. Croyl. p. 573.

(94) Polidore Virgil, p. 526, 527. Hall,

(96) Id. *ibid.*

A. D. 1485. self with sending orders to Sir Walter Herbert and Rice App Thomas, two powerful chieftains in Wales, to raise their followers, and drive the invaders out of the kingdom (97). But he paid dear for this contempt of his enemies. He sent his commands to lord Stanley to join him immediately with his troops; but that nobleman, pretending that he was ill of the sweating sickness, which raged at that time, begged a short delay. His son, lord Strange, attempting to escape from court, was apprehended and brought back; and, to save his life, discovered his father's design to join the earl of Richmond, and at the same time engaged to reconcile and bring him and his forces to Richard (98).

Earl of
Richmond's
progress.

As soon as the earl of Richmond landed, he sent messengers to his friends to collect their followers, and come to his assistance; and having refreshed his men, he marched to Havesford-west, and from thence to Pembroke and Cardigan; at all which places he was joyfully received. Here he was joined by Richard Griffith and Richard App Thomas, two Welsh gentlemen, with their friends. Though he had hitherto received no great accession of strength, he had met with no opposition; but he was now informed, that Sir Walter Herbert and Rice App Thomas, with a considerable body of men, were at Cair-marden, determined to obstruct his progress; which caused a great alarm in his little army. He found means, however, to prevail upon Rice App Thomas, by a promise of the government of Wales, to join him with his followers; which so much discouraged Sir Walter Herbert, that he suffered him to pass without any molestation (99). The earl then proceeded upon his march, and at Newport, in Shropshire, he was joined by Sir George Talbot, at the head of 2000 men, the vassals of his nephew the young earl of Shrewsbury, which made his army amount to more than 6000 (100). At Stafford he had a private interview with Sir William Stanley, lord Stanley's brother, who had raised 2000 men; and at that interview the future motions of lord Stanley and Sir William were contrived in such a manner, as to make Richard believe they intended to join him, and at the same time to have it in their power to join Henry, when they could do him the most effectual service (101). In consequence of this

(97) Id. *ibid.* Hall, f. 27.

(98) Hist. Croyl. p. 373.

(99) Hall, f. 27.

(100) Hall, f. 27. Stow, p. 468.

(101) Id. *ibid.*

concert, lord Stanley, who was at Litchfield with 5000 men, evacuated that place, and retired to Aderstone, at the approach of Richmond; which made the king give credit to his professions of loyalty. A.D. 1485.

When Richard received intelligence of the defection of Rice App Thomas, and the inaction of Sir Walter Herbert, he began to apprehend that this invasion would prove more dangerous than he had imagined. Though many of his forces were not yet arrived, he marched from Nottingham to Leicester, at the head of an army of about 15,000 men; which (if the troops had been all hearty in the cause, and he had been joined by lord Stanley, and his brother Sir William, as he expected) was more than sufficient to have crushed the earl of Richmond and his adherents. On Sunday, August 22, he marched out of Leicester, in great pomp, with the crown on his head, and encamped that evening at the abbey of Merrival, not far from Bosworth (102). The earl of Richmond encamped, the same evening, so near, that several gentlemen deserted to him in the night; which filled the royal army with mutual diffidence and suspicion. On Monday, August 23, both princes drew up their troops, each in two lines, to decide this important quarrel. Lord Stanley took his station on one wing, opposite to the interval between the two armies, and Sir William Stanley on the other. The battle was begun by the archers of both armies; but soon became more close. Richard's troops in general, it is said, discovered no great spirit or alacrity; and the earl of Northumberland and his men did not strike one stroke. But it was lord Stanley who, by falling on the flank of the royal army, turned the balance in favour of the earl of Richmond. When Richard observed this, and discovered his rival at no great distance, he determined to put an end to the contest by his own death, or that of his competitor; and, putting spurs to his horse, attended by a few of his gallant followers, cut his way through every obstacle, unhorsing Sir John Cheyne, and killing Sir William Brandon, Richmond's standard-bearer, with his own hand. But when he was on the point of assaulting Henry's person (who neither courted nor declined the combat), he was overwhelmed by numbers, thrown to the ground, and

A. D. 1485. slain, in the thirty-fifth year of his age, when he had reigned two years and about two months (103).

Consequences.

Though this was one of the most decisive battles that ever was fought, it was neither long nor bloody; about one thousand (according to the most probable accounts) being slain, on the vanquished, and very few on the victorious side (104). Of the great men among the loyalists, fell John Howard duke of Norfolk, Walter lord Ferrers of Chartley, with a few knights and gentlemen (105). Sir William Catesby, one of Richard's greatest confidants, was taken, and, with a few others, beheaded. The king's body was stripped naked, tied across a horse behind one of the heralds, and carried to Leicester, where, after it had been exposed to the view of the public, for a few days, it was buried in the church of the Greyfriars with very little ceremony (106).

Character of Richard III.

Richard III. if we may believe many of our historians, was a kind of monster both in mind and body. "The tyrant king Richard (says John Rous of Warwick, his contemporary) was born at Fotheringay in Northamptonshire. Having remained two years in his mother's womb, he came into the world with teeth, and long hair down to his shoulders (107)." What he adds is probably more agreeable to truth—"He was of a low stature, having a short face, with his right shoulder a little higher than his left;" a picture which was wrought up into absolute deformity by subsequent historians, but contradicted by the testimony of an eye-witness of undoubted credit (108). That he possessed personal courage in a very high degree, his enemies could not deny, though they confessed it with reluctance. "If I may venture to say any thing to his honour, though he was a little man, he was a noble and valiant soldier (109)." He was much admired for his eloquence and powers of persuasion, which were

(103) Hist. Croyl. p. 574. Fabian, f. 227. Hall, f. 33. Stow, p. 470. (104) Hall, f. 33.

(105) The duke of Norfolk was warned of his danger that morning by the following lines:

John of Norfolk be not too bold,
Dicken thy master is bought and sold.

(106) Sandford, p. 434. (107) T. Rosset and Leland Hen. III. vol. 10. p. 215.

(108) The countess of Desmond.

(109) T. Rosset Hist. p. 218.

almost irresistible, especially when they were aided by ^{A. D. 1485.} his bounty, which, on some occasions, was excessive (110). His understanding was certainly good ; but he was rather a cunning than a wise man, impenetrably secret, a perfect master of all the arts of dissimulation. Ambition was his ruling passion. It was this that prompted him to supplant his helpless nephew, in order to seize his crown ; and when he had formed that design, he seems to have stuck at nothing to secure its success. That he was guilty of the cool deliberate murder of the earl Rivers, the lords Grey and Hastings, because he apprehended they would oppose his attempt upon the throne, cannot be denied. That he murdered also his two nephews, Edward V. and the duke of York, or one of them, I do not affirm, because I cannot prove it ; and all the accounts that are given of the circumstances of the death of these two princes, I confess, are liable to great objections (111). But though all these accounts may be false in some particulars, the principal fact may be true ; and it is certainly not improbable.

(110) Hist. Croyl. p. 557.

(111) See Mr. Walpole's Historic Doubts, p. 51, &c.

THE
HISTORY
OF
GREAT BRITAIN.

BOOK V.

CHAPTER I. PART II.

*The civil and military history of SCOTLAND, from A. D.
1399, to the accession of James IV. A. D. 1488.*

SECTION I.

*From A. D. 1399, to the accession of James II. A. D.
1437.*

ROBERT III. the second prince of the family ^{A. D. 1399.}
of Stuart, had been seated about nine years on the ^{Robert III.}
throne of Scotland, at the accession of Henry IV. to
that of England (1). Robert was a good man, of a
mild and gentle spirit; but having been rendered lame,

(1) See vol. 4. b. 4. ch. 1. § 5.

A. D. 1399. by the stroke of a horse, in his youth, he affected a retired life, and committed the administration of affairs to his brother Robert duke of Albany (2).

Death of
prince
David.

The profligacy of David prince of Scotland and duke of Rothsay, gave great concern to his royal parents, brought ruin on himself, and many calamities on his country. He was contracted, A. D. 1400. to the lady Elisabeth Dunbar, daughter of George earl of March, and some part of the lady's fortune paid. But Archibald, called *The Grim*, the rich and potent earl of Douglas, interposed, alleging, that the contract was illegal, as the nobility had not been consulted; and making an offer of his own daughter, the lady Marjory, with a larger fortune, his offer was accepted, and the marriage celebrated in the castle of Bothwell (3). Matrimony made no reformation in the manners of this unhappy prince. On the contrary, after the death of his mother, queen Annabella, he became more and more licentious. The king had committed him to the care of certain noblemen, who were constantly to attend him, to restrain his sallies, and attempt his reformation; but they soon resigned their charge as hopeless. By the advice of Sir William Lindsay of Rosly, and Sir John Remorgency, two of his counsellors, the king sent a mandate to his brother the duke of Albany, to put the prince under confinement for some time, in hopes by this act of severity he might be reclaimed. The gentlemen who gave this advice, being no friends to the prince, carried the mandate to the duke, and both prompted him to, and assisted him in its execution. The prince was accordingly apprehended as he was on his way to St. Andrew's, with a few attendants, to take possession of the castle of that city for the king, on the death of the late bishop Walter Trail. He was kept a few days in that castle, and from thence conducted to Falkland, and confined in a small room of the palace, where he died on Easter day, A. D. 1401 (4). The manner of his death is not certainly known. It was given out, that he died of a dysentery; but it was rumoured, and generally believed, that he was starved to death.

(2) Scotichronicon, lib. 15. c. 14.

(3) Id. ibid. c. 10.

(4) Scotichronicon, lib. 15. c. 12.

This affair was agitated in a parliament held at Edinburgh in May A. D. 1402; and by a solemn act under the great seal, it was declared—that the prince *had died by divine providence, and no otherwise*—that the king and parliament approved of his imprisonment as necessary for the public good—and that if the king had entertained any ill-will against his brother the duke of Albany, or his son-in-law the earl of Douglas, or any of their agents, on account of their conduct towards the late prince, he now laid it aside, and held them to be good and loyal subjects (5). But whether this act and declaration was obtained by the power, or by the innocence of the duke and earl, may be doubted.

The earl of March was so much enraged at the affront put upon his family, by the breach of the contract between prince David and his daughter, that he retired into England, and entered into a negotiation with Henry IV. which terminated in his swearing fealty to that prince, who granted to him and his heirs the lordship of Somerton in Lincolnshire, and the manor of Clifton, for his life (6). That nobleman then sent for his family and followers into England, and for several years was an inveterate enemy to his country, guiding and assisting the English in all their incursions, which were very frequent, but too inconsiderable to be particularly related. The most fatal of those calamities he brought upon his country were, the defeat of the Scots at Nisbet-muir, A. D. 1401, and the still greater defeat at Hamilton, A. D. 1402, which hath been already mentioned (7).

Whatever opinion Robert III. entertained concerning the death of his eldest son prince David, it is no wonder that he became anxious for the safety of his youngest and only remaining hope, prince James. That young prince, with Henry Percy, heir to the earl of Northumberland, and some other young noblemen, resided in the castle of St. Andrew's, under the tuition of that generous and hospitable prelate Henry Wardlaw. At length, the king resolved to send him to the court of the ancient ally of his country and family, the king of France, that he

(5) See Remarks on the History of Scotland by Sir David Dalrymple, c. 19.

(6) Rym. Fœd. tom. 8. p. 133. 153.

(7) Scotichronicon, l. 15. c. 13, 14.

A. D. 1405. might be out of danger, and receive an education suitable to his rank, and the station he was designed to fill. A ship being provided, the prince, his governor, Henry Sinclair earl of Orkney, and other attendants, embarked and set sail for France, with letters of recommendation to Charles VI. This proved a most unfortunate voyage; the prince, and all his suit, were seized by the English on the coast near Flamborough-head, April 12, A. D. 1405, and carried prisoners to London (8). This happened about a week before the termination of a truce between the two kingdoms, and consequently was not strictly legal; but the truces in those times were in general very ill observed; and nothing was more common than to begin hostilities a few days or weeks before they expired (9).

A. D. 1406. Though the news of the captivity of his only son must have been very afflictive to the king, he did not abstain from food, and expire a few days after he received them, as is asserted by several of our historians (10). There is the clearest evidence that he survived that event almost a year, and did not die till April 4, A. D. 1406 (11). His character hath been already given.

**Duke of
Albany
regent.**

A parliament was held at Perth, in June A. D. 1406, by which James I. a prisoner in England, was acknowledged and proclaimed king, and his uncle Robert duke of Albany was appointed regent (12). Besides the king, Archibald earl of Douglas, Murdoch earl of Fife, the regent's eldest son, and many others of the Scotch nobility, knights, and gentlemen, who had been taken at the battles of Nisbet-muir, Hamildon, and Shrewsbury, were at this time prisoners in England; and the history of Scotland, for several years, consists chiefly of negotiations for the deliverance of these prisoners, and for short truces with the neighbouring kingdom (13). The regent had been so long accustomed to the exercise of sovereignty, that he seems to have con-

(8) Scotichron. l. 15. c. 18. Winton, Annotationes ad Buchan. p. 436.

(9) Rym. Fœd. tom. 8. p. 363.

(10) Scotichron. l. 15. c. 18. Buchan. l. 10.

(11) Rym. Fœd. tom. 8. p. 430. Annot. ad Buchan. p. 436.

(12) Id. ibid.

(13) Rym. Fœd. tom. 8.

tracted a fondness for it, and discovered no desire to procure the liberty of his nephew, who, for several years, was almost entirely neglected, while the most strenuous efforts were made for the deliverance of the other prisoners. A. D. 1405.

George Dunbar, earl of March (who had received many valuable grants from the king of England, which he had richly merited by his services), on some disgust, began to entertain serious thoughts of returning to his native country; in which he was favoured by the regent; who, by his own authority, without consulting either the king or parliament, restored him to his honours, and the greatest part of his estate, A. D. 1409 (14). The truth is, the regent considered himself as possessed of all the powers of a king without exception; and in a letter to the king of England, May 6, A. D. 1410, A. D. 1410. he styles himself, regent of Scotland, by the grace of God; and calls the people of Scotland his subjects (15). Earl of March returns to Scotland.

Henry IV. made it his study to foment divisions amongst the Scots, and stir up enemies against them. Donald, lord of the Isles, who affected a kind of independency, being greatly enraged against the regent for depriving him of the earldom of Ross, to which he claimed a right; Henry entered into a negotiation with him as an independent prince, animated him to seek redress by arms, and promised him his assistance (16). Encouraged by so great an ally, Donald raised an army, took possession of the disputed earldom, being favoured by its vassals; and finding himself at the head of 10,000 men, he advanced into the fertile province of Moray, burning and plundering every thing in his way towards the city of Aberdeen; with the spoils of which he intended to enrich his followers. But Alexander earl of Marr having raised an army in the country between the rivers Spey and Tay, met the invaders at the village of Harlaw, about ten miles from Aberdeen; where a bloody battle was fought, July 24, A. D. 1411, to which night rather than victory put an end. The loss on both sides was so great, that both armies retreated the day after, without discovering any inclination to renew the action. A. D. 1411. Battle of Harlaw.

(14) Scotichron. lib. 15. c. 21.

(15) Rym. Fœd. tom. 8. p. 835.

(16) Rym. Fœd. tom. 8. p. 428. 527.

A. D. 1411. The régent, next year, pursued the lord of the Isles, and obliged him to make his submission (17).

Services of the March family. The earl of March and his family, after their return into their native country, were zealous and active in its service. Patrick Dunbar, one of the earl's sons, took the strong fortress of Fastcastle A. D. 1410, and made the governor (who was a cruel plunderer of the country) prisoner; and Gavin Dunbar, another of his sons, plundered and burnt the town of Roxburgh; but could not attempt the castle (18).

Earl of Douglas liberated. After many negotiations, Archibald earl of Douglas obtained his liberty; and, returning into Scotland, was reconciled to his ancient enemy the earl of March, and joined with him in a commission to negotiate a peace or truce with England, in May 1411 (19).

A. D. 1412. Truce. Though the régent neglected his captive sovereign, he laboured earnestly to procure the deliverance of his own son from captivity; and when the negotiations for that purpose were almost brought to perfection, they were interrupted by the death of Henry IV. March 20, A. D. 1413 (20). But a truce between the two kingdoms had been concluded, and proclaimed May 17, A. D. 1412, to continue till Easter A. D. 1418.

James I. ill treated. It must have been very discouraging to the young monarch, James I. to see himself so shamefully abandoned by his family and subjects, as he was in the first years of his captivity. We hear of no complaints they made of his detention, though it was illegal, of no attempts for his deliverance, of no money remitted for his support, of no friend sent to comfort him in his distress. He seems also to have been harshly treated for some time by Henry IV. who refused him the title of king after his father's death, and kept him a close prisoner in the tower of London more than two years (21). But it was happy for this prince that he was blessed with an uncommon genius, and ardent thirst for knowledge of all kinds, which enabled him to pass his time in his con-

(17) Scoticon. l. 15. c. 21.

(18) Scoticon. l. 15. c. 21. Buchan. lib. 10. p. 182.

(19) Rym. Fœd. tom. 8. p. 682.

(20) Id. ibid. p. 708. 732. tom. 9. p. 1.

(21) Rym. Fœd. tom. 8. p. 484.

finement both usefully and agreeably, and to acquire such a variety of accomplishments as few princes in any age or country have possessed. A. D. 1412.

Soon after the accession of Henry V. a negotiation was set on foot for the deliverance of the king of Scotland from his captivity; and a safe-conduct was granted by Henry, April 16, A. D. 1413, to continue to Lammaster thereafter, to five commissioners from Scotland to remain in England, where they then were, to treat with him about that deliverance (22). But whether these commissioners were appointed by the estates of the kingdom, or by the regent, or what they did in consequence of their commission, we are not informed; only we know that their negotiations were ineffectual. A safe-conduct was granted to six other commissioners, July 16, in the same year, for the same purpose; but their efforts were equally unsuccessful (23). It appears from another safe-conduct granted to Sir William Douglas of Drumlanrig, December 19, in the same year, that he also was employed in the same negotiations, and continued them to the 1st day of February 1414, when his safe-conduct expired (24). These facts afford sufficient evidence that the Scots were, at that time, sincerely desirous of obtaining the deliverance of their sovereign; and that, if the regent did not promote, he could not prevent, those steps they took to accomplish that end. Negotiation.
A. D. 1413.
A. D. 1414.

After these efforts of his subjects had failed, James concluded a personal treaty with Henry, for permission to go into his own dominions, and to stay in them a certain time, upon giving sufficient hostages for the payment of 100,000 marks, if he did not return into England at the stipulated time. An indenture to that purpose was sealed by both kings; and Henry granted a commission, December 8, A. D. 1416, to the bishop of Durham, the earls of Northumberland or Westmoreland, to take James's oath that he would return or pay the money, to receive the hostages, and to judge of their sufficiency. At the same time he granted safe-conducts to the earls of Athole, Fife, Douglas, Marr, and A. D. 1416.
Treaty between
Henry and
James.

(22) *Id.* tom. 9. p. 5.

(23) *Id.* *ibid.* p. 40.

(24) *Id.* *ibid.* p. 79.

A. D. 1416. Crawford, the bishops of St. Andrew's and Glasgow, George, son and heir to the earl of March, and Sir William de Graham (who were probably the intended hostages), to come into England (25). But after all these preparations, that treaty was never executed; and James continued in his confinement during the whole reign of Henry V.

Earl of
Fife libe-
rated.

The duke of Albany was more successful in his endeavours to procure the freedom of his eldest son, Murdoch earl of Fife; who was exchanged, A. D. 1415, for Henry Percy, grandson to the late earl of Northumberland, and son of the famous Hotspur (26).

A. D. 1417.
Hostilities
on the
borders.

The hostilities between the two British nations on the borders, were interrupted by frequent truces during the whole reign of Henry V. For it was the wise policy of that great prince, to keep the Scots as quiet as possible, while he was engaged in his grand undertaking of acquiring the crown of France. The most considerable of these hostilities happened A. D. 1417, when the Scots invested both Berwick and Roxburgh at the same time; but on the approach of the dukes of Bedford and Exeter, at the head of a formidable army, they raised both the sieges (27).

A. D. 1419.
Scots assist
the French.

But though the Scots did not give Henry V. much disquiet in Britain, they gave him no little opposition on the continent. Charles, dauphin of France, afterwards Charles VII. being reduced to great distress, by the unnatural union of his delirious father, his implacable mother, and his enraged cousin the duke of Burgundy, with the king of England, sent the earl of Vendôme into Scotland, A. D. 1419, to implore the assistance of the ancient allies of his country. The regent and estates, convinced that if France and England came to be united under one sovereign, Scotland could not long preserve its independency, granted an aid of 7000 men, who were soon raised and sent into France, under the command of John earl of Buchan, the regent's second's son, Archibald earl of Wigton, eldest son to the earl of Douglas, and several other barons.

(25) Rym. Fœd. tom. 9. p. 417, 418.

(26) Rym. Fœd. tom. 9. p. 323, 324.

(27) Walsing. p. 599. Drake's Hist. Anglo Scotia, p. 196, 197.

These troops had the honour to give the first check to the English arms, by the illustrious victory they obtained at Baugé, 23d March A. D. 1421 (28). The pope, Martin V. when he heard of this victory, said,—“the Scots are the best antidote against the English (29).” The dauphin expressed his gratitude for this important service, by bestowing the high office of constable on the earl of Buchan, a valuable estate on the earl of Wigton, and suitable rewards on the other leaders (30).

Robert duke of Albany did not live to hear of the fame acquired by his son and countrymen, at the battle of Baugé; having died at Stirling, about six months before that action, in the eightieth year of his age. A contemporary historian, who, from his station and situation, must have been well acquainted with him, gives this prince an excellent character. “In his person, he was uncommonly tall and handsome; his hair and complexion were fair, and his countenance sweet and amiable. He was wise in council, and brave in action; eloquent in public assemblies, and pleasant in private conversation. In his manners, he was mild, affable, and gracious; and more splendid and hospitable (especially to strangers) in his way of living, than any other person (31).” That he was ambitious and fond of power, cannot be doubted; but whether or not his ambition prompted him to put his nephew prince David to death, is one of those historical problems that never will be clearly solved. He was succeeded as duke of Albany, and regent of the kingdom, by his eldest son, Murdoch earl of Fife.

Henry V. exerted all his policy to prevent the Scots from opposing him in the execution of his favourite project, the conquest of France. In his second expedition into that country, finding an army of Scots in the field against him, he sent for his prisoner, the king of Scotland, in hopes that his personal presence in his army, and the use of his name, would prevail upon his subjects to return home. But in this he was disappointed. For though the leaders of the Scots professed

A. D. 1421.
Battle of
Baugé.

Death and
character
of the duke
of Albany.

Efforts of
Henry V.
to detach
the Scots
from their
French al-
liance.

(28) Ford. Scoticon. lib. 15. c. 31. 33.

(29) Id. ibid.

(30) Hist. Fran. par Villar, tom. 14. p. 122. Hume of Godscroft, p. 127.

(31) Scoticon. lib. 15. c. 37.

A. D. 1421. the highest regard for the person of their king, they denied that he could command his subjects, or that they were bound to obey him, while he was a prisoner. The presence, however, of the king of Scotland, in his army, furnished Henry with a pretence of putting such of the Scots as fell into his hands to death as traitors (31); for which, if they had been really traitors, the king of England had no right to punish them. Henry employed intrigues, as well as severities, to detach the Scots from the service of the dauphin. He granted a safe-conduct to Sir William Douglas of Drumlanrig, at his camp before Milun, August 30, A. D. 1420, to come and converse with him about certain affairs; and having conversed with him, he granted him another safe-conduct, September 7, to go into Normandy to converse with the king of Scotland (32). The subjects of these conversations or negotiations are not certainly known; but it is most probable that they related to that very extraordinary treaty that was finally concluded and sealed, at London, May 30, A. D. 1421, between Henry V. and Archibald earl of Douglas. By this treaty the earl of Douglas, at the earnest desire and command of his sovereign king James, engaged to serve the king of England all his life, against all men, except the king of Scotland, with 200 men at arms, and 200 archers, at the usual wages, and a pension of £ 200 a-year; and the king of England, in consequence of this service, engaged to permit king James to visit his dominions, for a limited time, within three months after the return of the two kings from France, for which they were to set out in a few weeks (33). From this remarkable treaty (which never was executed) it plainly appears, that king James earnestly desired to detach his subjects from the service of the dauphin, in order to obtain his own liberty. It further appears, that king James actually engaged several of his barons to come over to him, with their followers; as, Alexander lord Forbes, with forty men at arms, and sixty other attendants; Alexander de Seton, lord of Gordon, with twen-

(31) Scotieren. lib. 15. c. 34.

(32) Rym. Fedd. tom. 10. p. 18, 19.

(33) Id. ibid. p. 123.

ty men at arms, and sixty other followers; William Blair, John Winton, and William de Fowls, each with a certain number of men (34). But the great body of the barons and people of Scotland adhered steadily to the dauphin, and contributed greatly to his prefer-
A. D. 1421.

Murdoch Stewart duke of Albany, and regent of Scotland, was a weak prince, and had little authority even in his own family. Fatigued by the affairs of government, for which he was unfit, and harassed by the turbulent spirit of his three sons, he began, it is said, earnestly to desire the deliverance of the king. This much at least is certain, that negotiations for that purpose commenced soon after the death of Henry V. and the return of king James from France. A safe-conduct was granted, May 12, A. D. 1423, to William bishop of Glasgow, George earl of March, sir John Montgomery of Ardrossane, sir Patrick Dunbar of Bile, Sir Robert Lawdre of Edrington, Sir William Borthwick of Borthwick, and Sir John Forstar of Corstorphin, to come to Pomfret, to treat about the deliverance of the king of Scotland (35). The commissioners appointed by the English council were, the bishops of Durham and Worcester, the earls of Northumberland and Westmoreland, Sir Richard Neville, Sir Ralph Cromwell, Sir Thomas Chaworth, and two other gentlemen. The instructions given to these commissioners, dated July 6, contain some curious specimens of that chicane and artifice so common in such negotiations. King James was to be at Pomfret in the time of the treaty; and the English commissioners are instructed to make great difficulty about allowing the Scots commissioners to have a private conference with him; but at last to grant it as a mighty favour. They are also instructed to demand 40,000*l.* for the expences of king James's maintenance in England; but if they could not obtain that sum, to accept of 36,000*l.* which was at the rate of 2000*l.* a year, equivalent to about 20,000*l.* of our money at present. They are further directed, when the Scots commissioners were in good humour, to introduce a discourse about a perpetual peace, or long truce,

A. D. 1423.
Treaty for
the deliver-
ance of king
James.

(34) *Id. ibid.* p. 153, 154, 174.

(35) *Rym. Fœd. tom. 10. p. 286.*

A. D. 1423. between the two nations, and of a marriage between king James and some English lady (36). The king of Scotland was conducted to Pomfret, where some progress was made in the treaty, which was adjourned to York, where it was concluded, September 10, on the following terms: 1. That king James should pay to king Henry 40,000l. (equivalent to about 400,000l. at present), for the expence of his maintenance, &c. in England, by annual payments of 10,000 marks; unless the duke of Exeter should prevail on the king and council of England to remit the last 10,000 marks. 2. The Scots commissioners promised to deliver sufficient hostages for the security of these payments: but because they could not then give in the names of these hostages, it was agreed, that king James should be at Braunspath, or Durham, on the 1st day of March ensuing, to hold conferences with the nobility of his kingdom concerning that matter. 3. Because the marriage of the king of Scotland with some lady of England might contribute to promote peace between the two nations, it was agreed, that the regent of Scotland should send commissioners to London before the 20th of October, to treat on that subject (37).

No ransom
demanded.

It is remarkable, that the word *ransom* is never used in all these negotiations for the deliverance of king James; and that at a time when no prisoner of importance was released without paying a ransom proportioned to his rank and wealth. This caution of the English commissioners, in avoiding to demand a ransom, was certainly intended to avoid all discussions about the legality of his capture, and was a tacit acknowledgment of its illegality.

Hostages.

After the return of king James from York to London, attended by his commissioners, several additional stipulations were agreed upon, December 4, A. D. 1423, chiefly respecting the securities to be given for the payment of the 40,000l. Particularly it was agreed, that each of the four towns of Edinburgh, Perth, Dundee, and Aberdeen, should give a bond to the king of England for 50,000l marks; which bonds were to be delivered up as soon as the 40,000l. was paid. Several regula-

(36) Rym. Fæd. tom. 10. p. 294.

(37) Rym. Fæd. tom. 10. p. 299, 300.

tions were made concerning the hostages, who were all ^{A. D. 1423.} to live at their own expence; and the following list of the intended hostages, with the annual value of their estates, was given in to the English council; which exhibits a curious view of the circumstances of many of the great families of Scotland at that time.

	Marks.	Equivalent to about
Thomas earl of Moray - - -	1000	£. 6666
Alexander earl of Crawford, - -	1000	6666
William earl of Angus, - - -	600	4000
Malice earl of Stratherne, - - -	500	3333
George earl of March, or his eldest son,	800	5333
David, eldest son of the earl of Athol, } or his son and heir, - - - }	1200	8000
William, constable of Scotland, or his } son and heir, - - - }	800	5333
Robert lord Erskine, - - -	1000	6666
Robert, marshal of Scotland, or his } son and heir, - - - }	800	5333
Walter, lord of Dyrleton, or his son } and heir, - - - }	800	5333
John, lord Seaton, or his son and heir,	600	4000
Sir John Montgomery of Ardrossane,	700	4666
Alexander lord Gordon, - - -	400	2666
Malcolm lord Bygare, - - -	600	4000
Thomas lord Yester, - - -	600	4000
John Kennedy of Carrick - - -	500	3333
Thomas Boyd of Kilmarnock, or his } son and heir, - - - }	500	3333
Patrick Dunbar, lord Cumnock, or his } son and heir, - - - }	500	3333
James lord Dalkeith, or his eldest son,	1500	10,000
Duncan lord of Argyle, - - -	1500	10,000
John Lyon of Glaumis, - - -	600	4000

Some changes were made in the above list before the ^{A. D. 1424.} hostages were actually delivered at Durham, March 28, ^{Other hos-} A. D. 1424; when twenty-seven of the representatives ^{tages.} or heirs of the best families in Scotland voluntarily surrendered themselves prisoners for the deliverance of their king

A. D. 1424. king (38). Theregent's three sons were averse to that measure, and declined being hostages; which was probably one cause of that severity with which they were treated by James after his restoration.

King James married.

The affair of king James's marriage was soon settled. He had long before fixed his affections on the lady Jane Beaufort, a lady of great beauty, and one of the nearest female relations of the king of England, being granddaughter to John of Gaunt, duke of Lancaster, by his son John Beaufort earl of Somerset. Their nuptials were solemnized February 22, and the day after, a discharge, under the great seal, was granted to James, of the last 10,000 marks of the 40,000l. he had engaged to pay to England (39).

King James at Durham.

King James and his young queen, a few days after their marriage, set out for Durham, where they arrived, according to stipulation, about the 1st of March. James was there met by sixty-five of the chief noblemen and gentlemen of his kingdom, and spent the whole month of March in settling every thing necessary to his deliverance. Amongst other things, he gave in to the English commissioners four bonds, from the towns of Edinburgh, Perth, Dundee, and Aberdeen, for 50,000 marks each, being the whole sum due to England, after deducting the 10,000 marks already discharged (40). He gave also his own bond for the whole sum of 40,000l. (41). He further surrendered the following twelve hostages, named in the above list, viz. David, eldest son of the earl of Athole, the earls of Moray and Crawford, Duncan lord of Argyle, William, eldest son of lord Dalkeith, Gilbert, eldest son of William constable of Scotland, Robert, marishal of Scotland, Robert lord Erskine, Walter lord Dirleton, Thomas Boyd lord of Kilmarnock, Patrick lord Cumnock, and Alexander lord Gordon (42). Nine of those named in the above list declined being hostages, or were on some accounts excused; and, in their room, James delivered the following fifteen lords and gentle-

(38) Rym. Fœd. tom. 10. p. 307. 327.

(39) Rym. Fœd. tom. 10. p. 322.

(40) Id. ibid. p. 324, 326.

(42) Rym. Fœd. tom. 10. p. 327.

(41) Id. ibid. p. 326.

men, with a schedule of the annual value of their estates; A. D. 1424.

	Marks;	Equivalent to about
William lord Abernethy, =	500	£. 3333
James Dunbar, lord Frendrath, -	500	3333
Andrew Gray of Foulis, - -	600	4000
Robert lord Livingstone, -	400	2666
John Lindefay, - -	500	3333
Robert lord Lisle, - -	300	2000
James lord of Caldor, - -	400	2666
James lord of Cadzow, - -	500	3333
William lord Ruthvane, -	400	2666
William Oliphant, lord Aberdalgy,		
George, heir of Hugh Campel, -	300	2000
Robert, heir of lord Maitland, -	400	2666
David Mienzies, - -	200	1333
David Ogilby, - -	200	1333
David, heir of John lord Lyon, -	300	2000

Many of our present nobility will be pleased to see the names of their remote ancestors, in this list of illustrious patriots, who resigned their own liberty, to procure the freedom of their sovereign and the good of their country.

All these hostages took a solemn oath, on the gospels, that they would remain in the custody of the king of England till every thing agreed upon was fully executed. They were then put into the custody of Sir Robert Hilton, sheriff of Yorkshire, and soon after committed to the tower of London, the castle of Dover, and other prisons in the south of England, at a great distance from their friends and country (43). In a word, the council of England acted with great rigour in the whole of this transaction, and took every possible advantage of their having the person of the king of Scotland in their possession. But generosity in political negotiations between hostile nations, is a very uncommon virtue.

(43) Rym. Fœd. tom. 10. p. 335, 336, &c.

A. D. 1424. Before king James left Durham, he concluded a truce with England, March 28, to continue from May 1, A. D. 1424, to May 1, A. D. 1431 (44). From this truce, the Scots army then in France, commanded by the earl of Buchan, constable of France, the earl of Douglas, duke of Touraine, and several other chieftains, was expressly excepted.

King James arrives in Scotland. All these tedious transactions being at last finished, king James, with his queen, and a numerous retinue of his subjects, set out from Durham, in the beginning of April A. D. 1424, and was escorted to the border by the noblemen and gentlemen of the north of England (45). He took a solemn oath, on the gospels, at Melrose, April 5, to perform every thing to which he had agreed (46); and, by easy journies, arrived at Edinburgh three days after, where he was received with every possible demonstration of joy, by great multitudes of his subjects, assembled to behold their sovereign, returned from a cruel captivity of nineteen years (47).

James crowned. The necessary preparations being made, James and his queen were crowned at Scoon, May 21, by Henry Wardlaw, bishop of St. Andrew's. The late regent, Murdoch duke of Albany, though certainly no favourite, was permitted to perform the honourable office which belonged to him as earl of Fife, of placing the king in the throne (48).

State of affairs. When James had leisure to examine his affairs, he found them in a most deplorable disorder. The two regents, by their excessive grants, in order to gain friends, had alienated so much of the crown-lands, and even of the private patrimony of his family, that he was so far from being able to pay the money owing to England, that he could hardly support his household in a manner suitable to his dignity. The reins of government had also been so much relaxed by the regents, especially by duke Murdoch, that the country was a scene of anarchy and confusion, over-run by fierce and lawless

(44) Id. *ibid.* p. 329, &c.

(46) Rym. Fœd. p. 343, 344.

(47) Annotationes in Buchan. p. 437.

(48) Scoticon, lib. 16. c. 2.

(45) Id. *ibid.* p. 332.

plunderers, who rambled about in great bodies, lived at free quarters, and took what they pleased (49). A. D. 1424.

To remedy these and many other disorders, as well as to raise money to pay the debt owing to England, James held a parliament, which met at Perth, May 26, A. D. 1424, in the nineteenth year of his reign, though only five days after his coronation (50). This parliament assigned the greater and smaller customs, and the rents due by burghs, for the support of the royal household;—appointed an inquest to be made by the sheriff in each shire into the lands that had belonged to the crown in the three preceding reigns, in order to the resumption of such as had been alienated;—and imposed a tax of one shilling in the pound on rents and goods for two years, drawn oxen, ridden horses, and household-furniture excepted, for the payment of the debt to England (51). Parliament.

This tax, being unusual, was unpopular, and paid with great reluctance. In the first year it yielded only 14,000 marks, equivalent to about 90,000*l.* at present; but in the second year it yielded much less, and excited great discontents among the common people (52). This obliged king James to desist from that mode of raising money, put it out of his power to be punctual in his payments to England, and detained the hostages in that country, at a great expence, longer than was intended. To render that hardship more tolerable to particular persons, these hostages were exchanged from time to time, according to an article in the treaty, for others whose estates were of equal value (53). A. D. 1425.
Discontents.

James very soon began to discover his animosity against the family of the late regent, by causing his eldest son, Walter, to be arrested and imprisoned, May 13, A. D. 1424 (54). But he did not stop there; for, on the ninth day of his second parliament, March 21, A. D. 1425, he caused duke Murdoch himself, Alexander his second son, Duncan earl of Lenox, his father-in-law, with no fewer than twenty-four other lords and gentle- Destruction
of the Al-
bany fa-
mily.

(49) Parliament 1st, James I. chap. 7.

(50) Parliament 1st, James I. chap. 7.

(51) Id. c. 8, 9, 10.

(52) Scoticon, lib. 16. c. 9.

(53) Rym. Fœd. t. 10. p. 245—249.

(54) Scoticon. lib. 16. c. 9.

A. D. 1425. men, who were friends and favourers of his family, to be arrested (55). All these prisoners were soon set at liberty, except the duke, his two sons, and his father-in-law, the earl of Lenox, who were conducted to Stirling, where they were tried, condemned, and executed, May 24; but for what crimes we are not informed. Their trial, however, was conducted with great solemnity, and several lords sat as their judges, who were their near relations, and had been lately imprisoned as their friends; which makes it probable that their condemnation was not unjust (56).

Insurrec-
tion.

James, the youngest son of the duke of Albany, made his escape from this general wreck of his family, and having collected a band of desperate followers, which in those times was not difficult, he burnt the town of Dumbarton, and there killed Sir John Stewart of Dundonald, the king's natural uncle, with thirty-two of his men. But the king having sent some forces in pursuit of the insurgents, the lord James, with his tutor, Finlaw bishop of Argyle, fled into Ireland, where they both died (57). Three of his natural sons, Andrew, Arthur, and Walter, long after came into Scotland, were legitimated by their relation, James III. A. D. 1479, and loaded with wealth and honours (58).

James's
prosperity.

By the annexation of the castles and estates of the Albany family to the crown, king James acquired a considerable addition both of power and wealth, which enabled him to act with greater authority, and to live with greater splendour. The birth of his eldest daughter, the princess Margaret, about the beginning of A. D. 1425, added to his felicity (59).

A. D. 1426, Parliament. King James convened his parliament at Perth, March 11, A. D. 1426, in which many excellent laws were made, which set both the wisdom and patriotism of this

(55) Id. c. 10. Bowmaker, the contemporary historian, it must be confessed, is a very unsafe guide, being a careless, ill-informed writer, who seems to have written from his memory. In the list of these lords, he names Alexander Seaton lord Gordon, who, we know with certainty, was then a prisoner in the castle of York. Rym. Fœd. tom. 10. p. 349.

(56) Scotiæron. lib. 16. c. 10.

(57) Scotiæron. lib. 16. c. 10.

(58) Annot. in Buchan. p. 438.

(59) Scotiæron. lib. 16. c. 11.

prince in the fairest point of view (60). But in that state ^{A. D. 1426.} it was very difficult, if not impossible, to execute some of these laws, especially in the highlands.

King James, knowing that his presence was necessary ^{A. D. 1427.} to give authority to his laws in the uncivilized parts of his dominions, commanded the castle of Inverness to be repaired, and kept his court in it, in summer A. D. 1427, to which he invited all the chieftains in the neighbouring counties, received them with great civility, and entertained them with great hospitality, without expressing any dissatisfaction at the disorders which had reigned in those parts. The report of this behaviour encouraged those who had been most guilty to come to the castle, to partake of the royal entertainments. But, when about fifty of them were in the castle, the king commanded the gates to be shut, and made them all prisoners. Three of the most noted robbers, Alexander Macrory, John Macarture, and James Campbell, the leaders of numerous bands of plunderers, were put to death; others were committed to different prisons; and those who were most innocent, or rather least guilty, were dismissed with suitable admonitions (61). On this occasion, the king, it is said, pronounced the following Latin lines:

Ad turrem fortem ducamus cautè cohortem
Per Christi fortem, meruerunt hi quia mortem.

Alexander lord of the isles and earl of Ross, and his mother, were among those who were made prisoners at this time. But after the earl had been detained a few weeks, he was admonished by the king to behave in a more orderly and submissive manner for the future than he had done formerly, and then set at liberty (62). Alexander, as we shall soon see, paid little regard to the royal admonition.

Charles VII. king of France, being reduced to great distress by the success of the English arms, sent the archbishop of Rheims, and John Stewart, lord Darnley, who commanded the remains of the Scots army in France, ^{A. D. 1428.} ^{Treaty with France.}

(60) Black Acts, Parliament 3, James I.

(61) Scotichron. lib. 16. c. 25.

(62) Id. ibid.

A. D. 1428. into Scotland, A. D. 1428, to solicit succours from his ancient allies. The ambassadors, according to their instructions, proposed a marriage between the dauphin and the princess Margaret, James's eldest daughter, though they were both in their infancy. This marriage, after some opposition from those who favoured the English interest, was concluded on the following terms—That the young princess should be sent into France, with an army of 6000 men for her fortune—that she should be married to the dauphin when of a proper age—that if she came to be queen of France, she should have as large a dowry as any former queen—if she was only dauphiness, she should have a dowry of 15,000 livres—with various other articles, all very favourable to the princess. To observe and fulfil this treaty, king James, his queen, and chief nobility, took a solemn oath before the French ambassadors, July 27, A. D. 1428; and Charles took a similar oath in October, before ambassadors from Scotland. Still further to attach the king of Scotland to his interest, Charles granted to that prince, and his heirs-male, in November the same year, the earldom of Xaintonge and lordship of Rochfort, with the privilege of paying their homage by proxy (63).

A. D. 1429.
Interview
with the
cardinal of
Winchester.

The English ministers, having received intelligence of this treaty, became apprehensive of a breach with Scotland, which at that time would have been very inconvenient. To prevent this, Henry Beaufort, the rich cardinal of Winchester, who was uncle to the queen of Scotland, had a personal interview with king James, at Durham, in the beginning of A. D. 1429; in which, it is probable, he prevailed upon him to keep the truce with England, and to delay sending the princess his daughter, and the stipulated succours, into France for some time (64). It is at least certain, that the princess and these succours were not sent till some years after.

**Insurrection
suppressed.**

Alexander, lord of the isles and earl of Ross, ever since he was set at liberty, had been meditating revenge for the affront of his imprisonment; and having collected all his strength, he took and burnt the town of Inverness, but

(63) Villar, tom. 14. p. 369. Scoticon. lib. 16. c. 23.

(64) Rym. Fœd. t. 40. p. 408.

failed in his attempt upon the castle. The king, having A. D. 1429. raised an army with great expedition, pursued the earl into Lochaber, defeated and dispersed his army, June 23, A. D. 1429, and obliged him to fly to the isles. There he remained some time, uncertain whether to retire into Ireland, or to throw himself on the king's mercy. At length he adopted this last measure, came privately to Edinburgh about the beginning of A. D. 1430, threw himself on his knees before the king, as he was at his devotion in the chapel of Holyroodhouse, and implored his mercy. The king at first seemed disposed to treat him with severity; but, at the earnest intreaty of the queen, who was present, he granted him his life, and sent him prisoner to the castle of Tantallon (65).

The defeat and imprisonment of the earl of Ross did not immediately restore tranquillity to the highlands and islands, whose inhabitants, in those times, were exceedingly fierce and turbulent. A chieftain named Donald Balloch, nearly related to the imprisoned earl, having collected the friends and followers of the family, invaded the continent, surprised the earls of Mar and Caithness, slew the latter, and obliged the former to save himself by flight. Elated by this success, he destroyed the country with fire and sword; but on the approach of the king at the head of an army, he was abandoned by his followers, of whom three hundred were taken and hanged. Donald made his escape into Ireland, where he was soon after killed, and his head sent to the king (66).

In the midst of those tumults, the queen was delivered of two sons, at Holyroodhouse, October 16, A. D. 1430, who were soon after named Alexander and James. Birth of two princes. The king knighted the two young princes at the font, and with them a considerable number of young noblemen and gentlemen of the best families (67). Prince Alexander died in his infancy, but James survived, and succeeded his father.

As the truce between England and Scotland was now near expiring, the council of England granted a Truce with England. commission, January 24, A. D. 1430, to the bishops of

(65) Scotiæron, lib. 16. c. 16.

(66) Scotiæron. lib. 16. c. 16.

(67) Id. ibid.

A. D. 1430. Durham and Salisbury, Henry earl of Northumberland, the lords Scroope and Greyfroke, and four others, to treat with certain commissioners from Scotland, about prolonging the expiring truce, making a new truce, or concluding a final and perpetual peace, by the intervention of marriage, or any other honourable means (68). From hence it is highly probable, that the English council had instructed their commissioners to endeavour to persuade king James to break his engagements with the dauphin, and give his daughter in marriage to the young king of England. But in that attempt, if they made it, they did not succeed. After a tedious negotiation, a truce for five years was concluded, December 15, A. D. 1430, to commence May 1, A. D. 1431 (when the former truce ended) and to continue to May 1, A. D. 1436 (69). By a remarkable article in this treaty, it is provided, that if either of the kings sent troops to the assistance of an enemy of the other king, that other king might seize them in going or returning, or destroy them when they were in the service of his enemy (70). This uncommon article was certainly inserted at the requisition of the king of Scotland, that he might be at liberty to send the stipulated succours, with the princess his daughter, into France.

Wise policy
of James.

From the moment of king James's return into Scotland, he seems to have had two great objects in view—
1. to recover and increase the domains of the crown—
2. to establish the authority of the laws, and reduce all his subjects to order and obedience. In both these designs (which were as difficult as they were necessary) he had now made considerable progress; but he had still much to do, and proceeded with great wisdom and spirit. To deliver the country, particularly the north, from those numerous bands of fierce and lawless plunderers with which it was infested, he wisely encouraged their mutual feuds, and employed one of them to destroy another. The clan Chattan almost extirpated the clan Cameron on Palm Sunday, A. D. 1430; and the year after, two famous robbers, Angus Duff and Angus Mur-

(68) Rym. Fœd. tom. 10. p. 448.

(69) Id. ibid. p. 482, &c.

(70) Id. ibid. p. 490. by mistake of the printer, for 486.

ray, at the head of their several bands, fought a kind of pitched battle in Strathnaver, with such implacable fury, that only nine survived of both troops, though at the beginning of the action they had consisted of several hundreds (71).

A. D. 1431.

After the conclusion of the truce with England, and the destruction of those plunderers, Scotland enjoyed a considerable degree of peace and prosperity for several years. The king, not contented with the estates of the family of Albany, which he had annexed to the crown, began to lay claim to some others, particularly to that of George Dunbar earl of March, which had been forfeited by the earl's father, but had been restored by the regent Robert duke of Albany, and peaceably enjoyed by the present possessor above twenty years. The ground on which the king claimed that estate was this—that the regent had not power to pardon a traitor, or restore a forfeited estate. The king brought that affair before a parliament, which met at Perth, January 10, A. D. 1435. The parliament appointed the following members to be a committee, to hear parties, examine evidence, form an opinion, and report, viz. the abbots of Scoone and Inchcolm, John Stewart provost of Methven, Robert Stewart of Lorn, Thomas Sommerville of Sommerville, Walter Halyburton, John Spens of Perth, Thomas Chalmers of Aberdeen, and James Parkley of Linlithgow. The committee having heard the advocates for both parties, and maturely deliberated on the whole affair, laid an opinion before the parliament; which being adopted, the following sentence was pronounced:—"That in consequence of the forfeiture of George Dunbar, late earl of March, the earldom of March belonged to the king (72)." It is highly probable that the king was provoked to this severity by the discovery of a suspicious intercourse between the earl of Dunbar and the English council, of which some evidences are still remaining (73).

A. D. 1435.
Earldom of
March for-
feited.

King James about the same time resumed the earldom of Strathearn, on this ground, that it had been granted by Robert II. to David his eldest son by his second marriage, as a male-fief, which should revert to the crown

King re-
sumes the
earldom of
Strathearn.

(71) Scotteron, l. 16. c. 17.

(72) Black Acts, f. 23.

(73) Vide Rym. Fœd. tom. 10. p. 618. 628.

A. D. 1435. on the failure of heirs-male. David had left only one daughter, married to sir Patrick Graham of the family of Kincardin, who enjoyed the title and estate of Strathearn to his death, and was succeeded in both by his son Malice, from whom they were now resumed. As Malice was the king's near relation, and had been a hostage for him in England, he granted him the earldom of Monteth, to make him some amends for the loss he had sustained. But this did not satisfy his uncle Robert Graham, a man of strong, or rather furious passions, who meditated a severe revenge.

Debate in
parliament.

It is difficult to discover the reasons why the princess of Scotland, and the stipulated succours, had not been sent to France long before this time, according to the original treaty. It is probable, however, that this delay was by mutual consent, as it did not occasion any breach between the contracting parties. It is even probable that some part of the succours had been sent in small bodies to escape the English. In the beginning of A. D. 1435, ambassadors arrived from France, to solicit the full accomplishment of the treaty; and not long after the lord Scroope came ambassador from England to negotiate a perpetual peace between the two British nations, to be cemented by a marriage between the king of England and the princess of Scotland. To succeed in this negotiation, he made the most tempting offers of giving up Berwick and Roxburgh, and all the lands in debate between the two kingdoms. King James laid this important affair before his parliament, in which it occasioned warm debates for two days. The chief speakers in favour of adhering to the French alliance, were the abbots of Scoone and Inchcolm; and the great advocate for the alliance with England, was John Fogo, abbot of Melros. One of the disputants hath preserved the principal arguments on both sides, and they are really ingenious (74). At last the French interest prevailed, and all the offers of England were rejected, which drew threats from lord Scroope, that the English would intercept the princess on her voyage (75).

A. D. 1436. Undismayed by these threats, James, having prepared Marriage. a fleet of nine great ships, sent away his daughter, at-

(74) Scotichron, l. 16. c. 23.

(75) Id. Ibid.

tended by a splendid train of ladies, lords, and gentlemen, with about a thousand troops. The English fleet that put to sea to intercept this small squadron, was defeated by the Castilians, and the Scots arrived safe at Rochelle, in the spring of A. D. 1436; and about two months after the princess was married to the dauphin, at Tours, June 25, with great pomp (76). A. D. 1436.

The rejection of the English proposals produced hostilities between the two nations at the expiration of the truce, May 1, A. D. 1436. Soon after, Henry Percy, earl of Northumberland, at the head of four thousand men, was met by William Douglas earl of Angus, attended by an equal number of his followers, at Pepperdin near Chiviot, where a fierce encounter ensued, in which many men were killed on both sides (77). Action at Pepperdin.

King James, having spent the summer in raising an army, invested Roxburgh about the beginning of August, and pushed the siege with great vigour. But when the place was on the point of surrendering, it was relieved in a very extraordinary manner. The queen arrived in the camp by hasty journies, and acquainted the king, that a plot was formed against his life, of which she could discover no particulars. James, knowing that many of his barons were secretly dissatisfied with his measures, was seized with a panic, and without allowing himself time to reflect, instantly disbanded his army, and retired with great precipitation to his favourite residence, the Carthusian monastery at Perth, which he had lately founded (78). Siege of Roxburgh.

In this place, James, not knowing whom to trust, lived in greater privacy than was suitable to his station, or consistent with his safety, which facilitated the execution of the plot against him. This plot was formed by so few, that it was kept with impenetrable secrecy; and the principal persons concerned in it were so nearly connected with the king by the ties of blood, that they were A. D. 1437.
The king murdered.

(76) Id. *ibid.* c. 12. Annotat. in Buchan. p. 439.

(77) Scoticon. l. 16. c. 25. Abercrom. vol. 2. p. 299. This is probably the action celebrated in the famous ballad of Chiviot-chace.

(78) Buchan. l. 10. p. 195. The account given of this siege by Bowmaker, a contemporary historian, is perfectly absurd and incredible. Scoticon. l. 16. c. 26.

A.D. 1437. not in the least suspected. Walter, earl of Athol, the king's uncle, was the chief conspirator, infatuated, as it is most probable, by a vain hope, and blind ambition, of obtaining the crown. He easily engaged in it his own grandson and heir, Robert Stewart, who resided at court, and was in favour with the king; and Robert Graham, uncle to the earl of Strathern, a desperate discontented man, who was capable of the most atrocious deeds. Graham came to Perth, attended by seven of his most resolute followers, after it was dark, on February 20, A. D. 1437, and was secretly admitted with them into the palace by Robert Stewart. As the king and queen were at supper in profound security, with very few attendants, Walter Straton, a cupbearer, going out of the room to bring some wine, discovered armed men in the passage, and gave the alarm, by crying, Traitors! Traitors! But it was too late. Having instantly dispatched Straton, they rushed into the king's apartment with their swords drawn. The queen, attempting to screen her beloved consort, was wounded, and torn away; after which the king was cruelly slain and mangled by no fewer than twenty-eight wounds (79).

His character.

Thus fell James I. in the thirty-second year of his reign from his father's death, and the thirteenth from his coronation, and the forty-fourth year of his age, by the hands of barbarous and cruel assassins. It is impossible to enumerate and describe the various virtues and accomplishments of this prince, without greatly exceeding the bounds commonly allowed to characters in history. But I may be the shorter on those subjects in this place, because I shall have occasion to consider his accomplishments as a legislator, philosopher, poet, musician, and artist, in the subsequent chapters of this book. In his person he was rather below the middle size, but uncommonly strong, and no less agile and active. "His bones" (says a contemporary historian, who was familiarly acquainted with him) were so great, and his joints so firm, that he challenged the biggest and strongest men to wrestle, and dreaded nothing so much as that they should remember he was a king, when they were engaged with him in these struggles. He putted the

“ stone, and threw the mell, further than any other man; ^{A. D. 1437.}
 “ he was an admirable archer, and excelled in running,
 “ riding, tilting, and every martial and manly exer-
 “ cise (80).” But the virtues of his mind were still more
 conspicuous than the perfections of his body. He was
 eminently pious, according to the mode of the times in
 which he flourished; and though he blamed his ancestor
 St. David for building monasteries, he could not abstain
 from imitating his example (81). No prince was ever a
 greater lover of justice, which he executed with the most
 intrepid impartiality upon the greatest, when they injur-
 ed the meanest of his subjects (82). Though he was
 naturally brave and warlike, he cultivated peace with
 all his neighbours, as that was necessary to the execution
 of the designs he had formed for the improvement of his
 dominions, and civilization of his subjects. He was a
 fond husband, an affectionate parent, an indulgent mas-
 ter, an agreeable companion, and in a word, one of the
 best men and greatest princes that ever reigned in Scot-
 land.

Though many of his subjects did not relish the strict-
 ness of James's government, and some of them had suf-
 fered in their fortunes by the resumption of the crown-
 lands; yet as soon as the news of his death reached them,
 their complaints were all suppressed, and nothing was
 heard but their lamentations. They discovered the
 warmth of their esteem and love to their murdered sove-
 reign, by the ardour with which they pursued, and the
 severity with which they punished his murderers, none of
 whom escaped the fate they merited. The two chief con-
 spirators, the earl of Athol and Robert Graham, endured
 a variety of tortures for three days, which are too shock-
 ing to be related; and yet so desperate a spirit had the
 last of these, that, being asked in the midst of his tor-
 tures, How he dared to kill the king? he replied, “ I
 “ dare to leap from the highest heaven into the lowest
 “ hell (83).”

James I. left one son, of his own name; and five ^{His issue.}
 daughters, viz. Margaret, married to the dauphin of

(80) Scoticon. l. 16. c. 28.

(81) Id. ibid. c. 13.

(82) Id. ibid. c. 28.

(83) Abercromby, vol. 2. p. 303, 309.

A. D. 1437 France; Isabel, to Francis duke of Brittany; Jean, successively to the earls of Angus, Huntly, and Morton; Helenor, to Sigismund duke of Austria; and Mary, to John lord of Campvere and Zealand.

S E C T I O N II.

From the accession of James II. to the accession of James III.

A. D. 1460.

A. D. 1437

James II.

JAMES II. was only six years and four months old at the death of his illustrious father, and was crowned in the abbey of Holyroodhouse, March 20, A. D. 1437, being the first day of a parliament which met at Edinburgh for the trial of the regicides and the settlement of the administration during the king's minority. Archibald duke of Touraine and earl of Douglas, who was by far the most powerful subject in Scotland, was appointed lieutenant of the kingdom; and the custody of the king's person, and the administration of the civil government, were committed to sir Alexander Livingston of Callender, and sir William Crichton of Crichton, two gentlemen who had been much esteemed and employed by the late king (1).

Truce with
England.

Though no truce subsisted at this time between England and Scotland, there was a total cessation of hostilities, neither of them being in a condition to molest the other. To secure the continuance of this tranquillity, which was equally beneficial to both nations, a commission was granted by king James II. November 30, A. D. 1437, to the lords Gordon and Montgomery, John Methven provost of Lyncluden, and John Vausle, Esq; to negotiate a truce with commissioners of the king of England. Conferences were accordingly held on that subject at London, and a truce concluded, March 31,

(1) Black Acts, f. 26. Abercromby, vol. 2. p. 319. Annot. in Buchan. p. 440.

A. D. 1438, for nine years, viz. from the 1st of May in that year, to the 1st of May A. D. 1447 (2). A. D. 1438.

Archibald duke of Touraine and earl of Douglas, who was the first of the Scots conservators of this truce, died about three months after it was made; and soon after his death, all things fell into confusion (3). This was partly owing to the youthful arrogance of his son and successor, William earl of Douglas, and partly to the violent discord that arose between the governor Livingstone and the chancellor Crichton, who were men of abilities, but exceedingly ambitious and interested, each striving to supplant the other, and ingross all the power and emoluments of administration. The chancellor had possession of the king's person and the castle of Edinburgh, while the governor resided with the queen-mother in the castle of Stirling; and whatever edicts the one published, the other contradicted; and whoever obeyed the one was punished by the other; which threw the country into great confusion (4). Confusions arise.

The queen-mother, who was a princess of great address, came from Stirling to Edinburgh, with a small train, to visit her son, and inquire after his health. The chancellor could not with decency refuse her admittance to the castle; and she behaved to him with so much affability, and made so many professions of esteem and goodwill, that he entertained no suspicion of any ill design. When her plot was ripe for execution, she told the chancellor that she designed to go on pilgrimage to the White Kirk of Buchan, to pray for the health and prosperity of her son; and that she would carry nothing with her but two chests, containing her clothes and a few necessaries. The king, with his own consent, was placed in one of these chests, conveyed out of the castle to Leith, and put on board a ship, in which the queen immediately set sail for Stirling; where she was received by the governor at her landing, and with her son conducted into the castle, amidst the loud acclamations of the people (5). A. D. 1439. The king brought to Stirling.

The governor, having the king in his possession, determined to push his advantage against his rival as far Council at Stirling.

(2) Rym. Fœd. tom. 10. p. 688—695.

(3) Hume of Godscroft, p. 144.

(4) Buchan. lib. 11. Pitiscottie, p. 2, 3.

(5) Pitiscottie, p. 3. Buchan. lib. 11. p. 198.

A. D. 1439. as possible. With this view, he summoned a kind of parliament, or great council of his partisans, probably that which met at Stirling, March 13, A. D. 1439, in which an act was made against such as held out castles against the king (6). In this council it was proposed, and at last resolved, to besiege the chancellor in the castle of Edinburgh; and the queen, to encourage them to engage in that enterprise, promised to furnish the army with meal during the siege (7).

Message to
the earl of
Douglas.

The chancellor, foreseeing the approaching storm, sent a messenger to the earl of Douglas, to implore his protection and aid against the governor. Our historians in general say, that this message was sent to Archibald earl of Douglas: but that is hardly possible; at least, it is much more probable that it was to his son William. The answer, too, was like that of a haughty, impetuous young man, viz. "That he was glad two such knaves had quarrelled, and hoped they would destroy one another (8)."

Reconciliation
between the
governor
and chan-
cellor.

Soon after the chancellor had received this answer, he found himself invested in the castle of Edinburgh, and in danger of falling into the hands of his enemies. To prevent this, he found means to send a message to the governor, expressing a desire to have a conversation with him, in which he had something to communicate that was equally interesting to them both. To this the governor agreed; and after the necessary precautions for their common safety, they had a meeting, in which the chancellor communicated the answer he had received from the earl of Douglas, and convinced the governor, that if they persisted to weaken one another, that common enemy would destroy them both. This produced a reconciliation. The chancellor delivered the keys of the castle to the king, who immediately returned them to him, according to agreement, received him into favour, and restored him to his office of chancellor, of which he had been deprived (9). After this transaction, the governor conducted the young king back again to Stirling castle.

(6) Black Act, f. 26. p. 2.

(8) Pitiscottie, p. 5.

(7) Pitiscottie, p. 5.

(9) *Id.* p. 7.

During the contest between the chancellor and governor, the reins of government were so much relaxed, that the whole country was a scene of anarchy and confusion, in which thefts, robberies, and murders were committed with impunity. Sir Thomas Boyde of Kilmarnock slew Allan Stewart, lord Darnley, at Polmont-thorn, between Falkirk and Linlithgow, in October A. D. 1438. This produced a family feud, and a pitched battle was fought July 22, A. D. 1439, in which the Boydes were defeated and Sir Thomas slain (10). William earl of Douglas having succeeded, A. D. 1438, to the great power and possessions of his father, both in France and Scotland, when he was hardly fifteen years of age, became wanton with prosperity, affected independency, and encouraged his vassals, particularly in Annandale, to plunder those parts of the country that were not under his jurisdiction (11). The farmers, in many places, enjoyed so little security, that the lands were left uncultivated, a dreadful famine ensued, followed by a plague, which carried off those that were seized with it in a few hours (12). In a word, few countries were ever in a more wretched condition than Scotland was in the minority of James II. so much did it suffer by the cruel murder of James I.

A. D. 1439.

Deplorable
state of
Scotland.

Though the governor had a great advantage in possessing the person of the king, he was not without difficulties. His great friend and patroness, the queen-mother, had fallen in love with and married Sir James Stewart, brother to the lord Lorn; and both she and her husband being much offended that he was not admitted into a share of the administration, entered into a correspondence with the earl of Douglas. The governor, having discovered this correspondence, acted with great spirit. He threw Sir James Stewart and his brother lord Lorn into prison, confined the queen to her apartment in the castle of Stirling, and did not set them at liberty till they had given ample security for their future good behaviour (13).

A. D. 1440.

The queen
confined.

In the mean time, the chancellor was far from being satisfied with his situation. He was allowed indeed to

The king
carried off
from Stirling.

(10) Buchan. lib. 11. p. 200.

(11) Id. ibid.

(12) Scotichron, tom. 2. p. 514. edit. Edin. 1759.

A. D. 1440. live quietly in the castle of Edinburgh, but was seldom consulted, and saw his rival possessing all places of power and profit, or bestowing them upon his friends. He therefore formed a plot to recover the advantages he had lost. By his spies he was informed, that the young king was permitted to take the diversion of hunting in the park of Stirling, with a few attendants. Having privately convened about a hundred of his most trusty friends, well mounted and armed, they set out in small parties from different places near Edinburgh, after it was dark, and met at the place appointed, in the park of Stirling, early next morning. To their agreeable surprise, the king entered the park soon after, attended only by a few followers. The chancellor rode up to the king, and in a soothing speech endeavoured to persuade him that he came to set him at liberty, and to conduct him to any place he pleased. Sir Alexander Livingston, the governor's eldest son, restrained his friends from making any opposition, and the king was conducted to the castle of Edinburgh (14).

Livingston
and Crichton
reconciled.

When the governor returned to Stirling in the evening, he was almost distracted with rage and grief. In the first transports of his anger, he entertained some thoughts of joining with the earl of Douglas to procure revenge. But he soon became sensible of the folly and danger of trusting himself in the hands of a passionate young man who hated him, and had many desperate ruffians about him, capable of any villany. After revolving many things in his mind, and consulting with his wisest confidants, he determined to sacrifice his resentment to his safety, and to attempt a reconciliation with his rival. He accordingly went to Edinburgh, attended only by a few friends, and by the mediation of the bishops of Aberdeen and Moray, obtained a meeting with the chancellor, in the church of St. Giles's. At this meeting, being both fully convinced that their preservation depended on their union, a more sincere and hearty reconciliation than the former took place; to which nothing contributed so much as their dread of the earl of Douglas. By this agreement, the king was to remain with the chancellor,

(13) Buchan. lib. 11. p. 200. Pitcottie, p. 8.

(14) Buchan. lib. 11. p. 201.

and the governor to retain all the authority and emoluments of his place (15). A. D. 1440.

Immediately after this agreement, a parliament was called to meet at Edinburgh, A. D. 1440, to which great numbers of people crowded, with complaints against the earl of Douglas and his retainers. The parliament did not think it prudent to proceed with a high hand against that potent earl, which would have produced a civil war; but sent him a soothing letter, entreating him and his friends to come and take their seats in parliament, and that share in the administration of affairs to which they were intitled. Pleased with this respectful invitation, the earl, accompanied by his only brother lord David, and his chief confident Sir Malcolm Fleming of Cumberland, set out for Edinburgh with a splendid retinue. The chancellor met him on the way, invited him to the castle of Crichton, entertained him in the most sumptuous manner, and made him so many flattering professions of esteem and friendship, that he slighted all the admonitions of his friends, who entreated him to be upon his guard, and to send back his brother into the country. When he arrived at Edinburgh, he was received with the most flattering marks of distinction, conducted by the chancellor, with the lord David, his brother, and Sir Malcolm Fleming, into the castle, to dine with the king. But when they were seated at the royal table, they were suddenly seized by armed men, dragged out of the king's presence; and after a very summary trial, as is most probable, or without any trial, as many authors affirm, they were all three beheaded, November 24, in the court of the castle (16): a most horrid, inhospitable, and cruel deed, which merits the execration of posterity!

By the death, or rather the murder, of the young earl of Douglas and his brother, the great estates of that family were divided; their uncle, James lord of Abercorn, succeeding to the earldom of Douglas, and their only sister Margaret, commonly called the *Fair Maid of Galloway*, to all the unentailed estates of Annandale, Gal-

(15) Id. *ibid.*

(16) Buchan. lib. 11. p. 203. Annot. p. 440. Abercromby, vol. 2. p. 328—331. Hawthornden, p. 22. Pitcottie, p. 17.

A. D. 1443. loway, Ormond, &c. (17). James earl of Douglas, called *The Gros*, being old and indolent, did not attempt to revenge the murder of his nephews, or disturb the peace of his country. But his life and that peace were both of short duration. He died at Abercorn, March 24, A. D. 1443, and was succeeded by his eldest son William, who married his cousin Margaret, the Fair Maid of Galloway, and thereby reunited the great estates of the family, and became as formidable as any of his predecessors (18).

A. D. 1444. William, earl of Douglas, elated by his power and opulence, for some time paid little or no regard to the authority of his king, or the laws of his country; but rather encouraged and protected robbers, pillagers and disorderly persons, out of hatred to the lords Livingston and Crichton, who had the chief direction of affairs, and with a view to bring them into contempt. But after the king had reached his fourteenth year, and began to interfere in the choice of his servants and the management of affairs, the earl changed his plan of policy, but not his views. Being assured by his friends, that he would meet with a favourable reception, he came to court, then at Stirling, attended by a numerous retinue of his friends and vassals, and, falling on his knees before the king, made the most solemn professions of the most inviolable loyalty. He was well received; and in a little time, by his engaging, submissive behaviour to the young king, and his liberality to the courtiers, he became the great favourite of both (19).

A. D. 1445. The lords Livingston and Crichton, observing the increasing favour of their too powerful enemy, resigned their offices and retired from court; the former to his house of Callender, and the latter to the castle of Edinburgh, of which he had the custody. But the earl of Douglas, now in the full possession of all the power of the state, determined not to suffer his enemies to escape

(17) Rym. Fœd. tom. 11. p. 310.

(18) Godicroft, p. 157—159. This author, and other historians, call this lady Beatrix, which was unquestionably the name of this earl William's mother, and not of his wife, who was called Margaret. Rym. Fœd. tom. 11. p. 310.

(19) Buchan, lib. 11. p. 204.

so easily; and, by his influence, they were both de- A. D. 1445.
 nounced rebels, and their estates confiscated, by a par-
 liament that met at Perth, July 14, A. D. 1445, and
 from thence adjourned to Edinburgh. While the king,
 or rather the earl of Douglas, besieged the castle of
 Edinburgh, he employed his friends in executing the
 sentence against the two proscribed lords, by seizing their
 lands and castles; in which they met with so much op-
 position and retaliation, that the country became a scene
 of slaughter and devastation. The lord Livingston, Sir
 Alexander his eldest son, Sir Robert Livingston treasu-
 rer, Sir David Livingston, Sir James Dundas of Dun-
 das, and Sir Robert Bruce of Clackmanan, were ap-
 prehended. Lord Livingston, Sir James Dundas, and
 Sir Robert Bruce, saved their lives by a liberal well-
 directed distribution of their lands and money, but the
 other three were condemned and executed (20).

The castle of Edinburgh was bravely defended; and Lord Crichton
 the earl of Douglas, despairing of taking it by force, re-
 stored.
 entered into a negotiation with the late chancellor; who,
 upon obtaining a full pardon, with the restoration of
 his estates and honours, ratified by parliament, surren-
 dered it to the king (21). The parliament that ratified
 this capitulation met at Perth, July 14, A. D. 1445;
 and was from thence adjourned to Edinburgh, to finish
 that transaction. The lord Crichton was seemingly re-
 conciled to the Earl of Douglas, and restored to the of-
 fice of chancellor; but, distrusting the sincerity of that
 reconciliation, he appeared as little at court as possi-
 ble (22).

The queen-mother, and her husband Sir James Stew- Queen's
 art, called the *Black Knight of Lorn*, having lived seve- death.
 ral years neglected and discontented, she died in July
 A. D. 1445, leaving three sons by her second husband,
 viz. John, who was made earl of Athol A. D. 1455;
 James, who was made earl of Buchan A. D. 1469; and
 Andrew, who became bishop of Moray. Sir James
 Stewart had spoken with so much asperity of those in
 power, that he did not think himself safe in Scotland

(20) Buchan. lib. 11. p. 206. Hawthornden, p. 23, &c. Pitcottie,
 p. 20, &c. Abercromby, vol. 2. p. 334.

(21) Scoticon. lib. 16. p. 515. Pitcottie, p. 23.

(22) Crawford's Officers of State, p. 32.

A. D. 1445. after the queen's death, and obtained a safe-conduct from Henry VI. November 24, A. D. 1445 (23). The same prince granted him a protection, November 22, A. D. 1447, to reside in England four years, with his two sons, John and James; and another safe-conduct, August 17, A. D. 1451, for himself, his two sons, six other gentlemen, and twenty servants (24). The time and manner of his death are not certainly known.

A. D. 1446. While the earl of Douglas possessed the favour of the king and the direction of affairs, he did not neglect himself, his family, and friends. He was constituted lord lieutenant of the kingdom, which was thought to be a less offensive name than that of regent or governor. —One of his brothers, Archibald, was made earl of Moray;—another of them, Hugh, earl of Ormond;—and a third, John, lord Balveny (25). In a word, no family in Scotland ever possessed so much power and territory as that of Douglas did at this time. But neither power nor riches can secure permanent prosperity.

The king
married.

King James being now about eighteen years of age, and having no brothers, it was thought proper that he should be married as soon as possible. A commission was therefore granted at Stirling, May 6, A. D. 1448, to the lord Crichton, chancellor, John bishop of Dunkeld, Andrew abbot of Melrois, George lord Seaton, Nicholas Otterton, canon of Glasgow, Thomas Cranston, esq; and John Dalrymple, bailie of Edinburgh, to go into France to renew the ancient alliance with that crown, and provide a suitable consort for their sovereign (26). These ambassadors obtained a safe-conduct to pass through England, with fifty persons in their company, dated April 23, A. D. 1448 (27). On their arrival at the court of France, they renewed the ancient alliances between the two kingdoms; but not finding in that country a proper match for their king, Charles VII. recommended Mary, daughter of Anthony duke of Guelder and Cleve, and by her mother, grand-daughter

A. D. 1449.

(23) Crawford's Officers of State, p. 32. Rym. Fœd. tom. xi. p. 107.

(24) Id. ibid. p. 192. 301.

(25) Godscroft, p. 160. Pitcottie, p. 29.

(26) Abercromby, vol. 2. p. 338.

(27) Rym. Fœd. tom. xi. p. 252.

of John duke of Burgundy, a princess young and beautiful, and of an heroic spirit. The commissioners found no difficulty in concluding the contract of marriage, and conducting the princess into Scotland. She was married to the king in the chapel of Holyroodhouse, in June A. D. 1449 (28). A.D. 1449.

While these commissioners were negotiating the king's marriage abroad, the truce which should have subsisted between the two British kingdoms till May 1, A. D. 1454, was violated, by mutual incursions on the borders (29). The occasion of these incursions is not well known; but it is most probable that they proceeded from some personal or family feuds, rather than from any national quarrel. The English appear to have been the aggressors. The earl of Northumberland, warden of the east marches, invaded Scotland on that side, and burnt Dunbar; while the earl of Salisbury, warden of the west marches, made an incursion on his quarter, and burnt Dumfries. But these injuries were soon retaliated by the lord Balveny, who burnt Alnwick, and desolated the open country. To revenge these injuries, the earl of Northumberland raised a numerous army, with which he invaded Scotland. But he was not permitted to proceed far: for being met by a Scotch army, commanded by Hugh earl of Ormønd, at the river Sark, in Annandale, a bloody battle was fought, in which the English were defeated, with the loss of 3000 men. The earl of Northumberland escaped with great difficulty; but his son lord Percy, Sir John Pennington, Sir Robert Harrington, and several other knights and gentlemen, were taken, and committed to the castle of Lochmaben. The Scots lost 600 men; among whom were few persons of note, except Sir Thomas Wallace of Craigie, to whose valour the victory was chiefly owing (30).

But as this war was not agreeable to either of the British sovereigns, it was soon terminated by a short truce made at Winchester, July 10, A. D. 1449; which was prolonged by another concluded at Durham, Septem-

(28) Annot. in Buchan. p. 441. Hawthornden, p. 26.

(29) Rym. Fœd. tom. 11. p. 58.

(30) Buchan. lib. 11. p. 208. Pitscottic, p. 30. Hawthornden, p. 26. Abercromby, vol. 2. p. 340.

A. D. 1449. ber 17, in the same year (31). These short truces must have been attended with much expence and trouble, as we sometimes find twenty plenipotentiaries of high rank employed in negotiating one of six weeks duration. At length a truce of an uncommon nature was made, November 15 of the same year, at Durham. It was not to continue for any limited time, but as long as it was agreeable to both parties to observe it; and when one of the parties intended to depart from it, he was bound to give a formal intimation of his intention to the other 180 days before he commenced hostilities (32).

A. D. 1450. The family of Douglas was in the zenith of its power and prosperity at this time, two of the earl's brothers, the earl of Ormond and the lord Balveny, having gained great honour in the late war. But from this time too, the enormous greatness of that family began to decline. This was owing to various causes;—to the jealousy of the king,—the envy of the other nobles,—the hatred of the people,—but chiefly to the abuse of their power, by protecting the most abandoned of their retainers in all their villanies, and crushing all who dared to oppose them, or any of their followers. Of this it will be sufficient to give one example. Sir Richard Colvill of Ochiltree happening to meet John Auchinleck of Auchinleck (a retainer of the earl of Douglas); from whom he had received many injuries, a quarrel ensued, and Auchinleck was killed. The earl of Douglas, instead of bringing Sir Richard to a trial, first burnt and ruined every thing on his estate, then besieged and took his castle, and put him and all the men in it to the sword (33). Such outrageous acts of violence rendered this great earl an object of terror to all who were not under his protection (34).

Earl of Douglas visits Rome. This being the year of jubilee, the earl of Douglas, prompted by vanity or superstition, determined to visit Rome. Having committed the care of his affairs in Scotland to his brother John lord Balveny, he set out, accompanied by his eldest brother lord James Douglas, with several other lords, knights, and gentlemen, making an ostentatious display of his wealth and grandeur

(31) Rym. Fœd. tom. 11. p. 237. 238.

(32) Buchan. lib. 11. p. 209.

(33) Id. ibid. p. 244.

(34) Pitcottie, p. 33.

in the several countries through which he passed. ^{A. D. 1450.} When he approached Rome, he was met by a procession of the clergy and principal citizens, and conducted into the city in a kind of triumph (35).

The affairs of this potent earl did not prosper so well in his native country. Soon after his departure, many complaints were made against him to the king and council, of injuries done, and cruelties committed, by him and his followers. The king on this occasion acted with great prudence and moderation, being probably influenced by the advice of his ancient counsellors, the lord Crichton and the lord Livingston, who had lately been made high justiciary. He summoned the lord Balveny to appear before him; but that lord disregarding the summons, he was apprehended, and brought before the council; and not being able to vindicate the earl, and several of his retainers, from the complaints brought against them, he was commanded to indemnify the sufferers out of the earl's rents, and the goods of the other delinquents; and upon his promising to do this, he was set at liberty. But being encouraged by his two brothers, the earls of Ormond and Moray, he refused to perform his promise. The king then gave a commission to William Sinclair, earl of Orkney, to do what the lord Balveny had promised, and sent him into the earl of Douglas's countries with a few troops, to execute that commission. But he was every where resisted and insulted; at which the king being justly irritated, he raised an army, besieged, took, and demolished the castle of Douglas, commanded the earl's rents, and the effects of the other delinquents, to be seized, and made restitution to the sufferers (36).

When the earl of Douglas received intelligence of these transactions, he hastened his return, and passed through England, under the protection of a safe-conduct from that court, 12th November A. D. 1450, for himself, and twenty other lords, knights, and gentlemen, in his company, with eighty other attendants (37). His intention seems to have been, to remain some time in

Earl of
Douglas
prosecuted.

A. D. 1451.
Earl of
Douglas
returns.

(35) Buchan. lib. 11. p. 210. Pitcottie, p. 33. Abercromby, vol. 2. p. 349.

(36) Buchan. lib. 11. p. 210. Pitcottie, p. 34.

(37) Rym. Fœd. tom. 11. p. 278.

A. D. 1451. England; for his safe-conduct contained a permission to him and his followers to reside in that kingdom three years (38). But finding that country in great confusion, and having received assurances from his friends in Scotland, that he would meet with a favourable reception from his own sovereign, he returned home about the beginning of A. D. 1451, went to court, was well received, and restored to all his estates and honours, on his engaging to behave as became a loyal subject, and no longer to obstruct the execution of justice on those who violated the laws. So perfectly was the king reconciled to this great earl at this time, that he appointed him one of his plenipotentiaries to settle certain points with those of England, for the better observation of the late truce; and he, with the other commissioners, obtained a safe-conduct from Henry VI. dated April 17, A. D. 1451, to come to Newcastle or Durham for that purpose (39).

The earl of Douglas obtains a protection in England.

It is highly probable, however, that this reconciliation was not very sincere on the part of the earl of Douglas, and that he secretly resolved to be revenged, if not on the king, at least on his ministers, for what had been done against him and his adherents in his absence. For when he was in England, vested with this commission from his sovereign, he engaged in certain dark intrigues with that court, and obtained a protection, May 12, A. D. 1451, for himself, his three brothers, thirty other lords, knights, and gentlemen therein named, with sixty-seven persons, nobles or others, to reside in that kingdom; by which he provided an asylum for himself and his followers (40).

Truce.

The indefinite truce that had been lately settled between the two British kingdoms being attended with some difficulties, another was concluded at Newcastle, August 14, A. D. 1451, to continue from that time to August 15, A. D. 1454, and as long after as it pleased both the kings (41).

Disloyal conduct of the earl of Douglas.

The earl of Douglas, after his return and reconciliation with the king, was very far from paying that respect to the authority of his sovereign and the laws of

(38) Id. *ibid.*

(40) Rym. Fœd. tom. 11. p. 235.

(39) Id. *ibid.* p. 283.

(41) Id. *ibid.* p. 293.

his country that he had promised; but, on the contrary, ^{A. D. 1451.} acted more like an independent and hostile sovereign than a subject. Besides his suspicious correspondence with the court of England—he entered into a bond with the earls of Crawford and Ross, and other noblemen, to stand by and assist each other against all men, in direct opposition to an act of parliament against such bonds (42)—his vassals of Annandale plundered the lands, and carried off the cattle, of the lord Herries of Terregles; who having applied to the earl for redress in vain, raised his friends and tenants, and made an attempt to recover his property. But being overpowered and taken prisoner in that attempt, he was carried to the earl, who commanded him to be hanged as a common thief. With the same cruelty he put to death the chief of the Maclellans, a numerous clan in Galloway, who were not of his party (43). In a word, the earl of Douglas employed all his art and power to increase the number of his partisans, and destroy those who declined to be of that number.

The king, equally irritated and alarmed at this conduct, summoned the earl to come to court; which he refused, unless a safe-conduct was granted him under the great seal. Though this was an uncommon requisition in a subject from his sovereign, it was complied with; on which he came to court, then at Stirling, attended by his brothers, and a numerous retinue of his friends and followers. He was well received, and invited to supper with the king in the castle. After supper, the king conducted the earl into another chamber, and entered into an expostulation with him concerning his late conduct, and particularly concerning the illegal bond into which he had entered with the earls of Crawford, Ross, and others, commanding him, in a peremptory tone, instantly to deliver it into his hands. The earl obstinately refusing to comply with this command, the king, in a transport of rage, drew his hanger, plunged it into the earl's heart, and laid him dead at his feet, <sup>A. D. 1452.
Earl of
Douglas
killed.</sup>

(42) Black Acts, f. 6. c. 33.

(43) Buchan. lib. 11. p. 211. Pitcottie, p. 37—40. Hawthornden, p. 28. Godicroft, p. 186—189.

A. D. 1452. February 22, A. D. 1452 (44): a rash, criminal, and cruel deed! for which no excuse can be pleaded, but the king's youth and warmth of temper, and the many provocations he had received from his turbulent and too powerful subject.

Rage of the Douglases. It is impossible to describe the fury of the Douglasses, when they were told the fate of their chief. As he died without issue, they acknowledged his next brother James, as earl of Douglas; and, putting him at their head, proceeded to the market-cross of Stirling, and there proclaimed the king a perjured murderer, and an enemy to mankind; sounding all the trumpets and horns in their army, to strike terror into the garrison of the castle. They tied the safe-conduct that had been granted to the late earl to a horse's-tail, and dragged it through the streets, giving the king all the most opprobrious names they could devise. In the first transports of their rage, they proposed to attack the castle, and put the king and all within it to the sword: but finding that they were not prepared for such an undertaking, they retired from Stirling, after setting the town on fire in several places (45):

Their misfortunes. If all the families of the name of Douglas had been united at this time, the king would have been in the greatest danger. But the earl of Angus and the lord of Dalkeith were at variance with their chief, and the other families that adhered to him, and on that account they were the objects of their most violent resentment, as being the firmest friends of the king. The earl of Douglas, therefore, after his departure from Stirling, burnt the town of Dalkeith, and besieged the castle; having sent his brother, Archibald earl of Moray, into the north against the earls of Angus and Huntly. But both these expeditions were unfortunate; the earl of Douglas being obliged to raise the siege of the castle of Dalkeith, and the earl of Moray being driven out of the north by the loyalists. The Douglasses sustained a still greater loss, by the defeat of their most powerful and zealous ally the

(44) Buchan. lib. 11. p. 212. Annot. p. 441. Pitcairne, p. 40, 41. Hawthornden, p. 29.

(45) Hawthornden, p. 29.

earl of Crawford, by Alexander earl of Huntly, near Brechin, May 18, A. D. 1452 (46). A. D. 1452.

James earl of Douglas sent his mother Beatrix, and Margaret his late brother's widow, into England, having obtained a protection for them from Henry VI. and at the same time he sent certain proposals in writing to that prince, who approved of them, and granted a commission to several noblemen, June 3, A. D. 1452, to conclude a treaty with his most dear cousin, James earl of Douglas, agreeable to his proposals, and to admit him and his friends to perform liege homage, and take an oath of fealty, as English subjects (47). We know not the particulars of this treaty; but we may be almost certain, that the design of the earl of Douglas and his friends, in consenting to take an oath of fealty to the king of England, was to obtain assistance from that prince against their native sovereign. Treaty with England.

But the earl of Douglas, discouraged by the ill success of his efforts at home, and despairing of any assistance from England, then in a most distracted state, soon began to think of an accommodation with the king. This accommodation was concluded, August 28, A. D. 1452, much sooner than could have been expected, from the rancour of the parties against each other. The earl of Douglas took a solemn oath, in his own name, and in the name of all his followers, to observe the following conditions—1. That he would lay no claim to the earldom of Wigton, without the permission of Mary queen of Scotland—2. That he would resign the lordship of Stewarton to the king, who might either keep or restore it to him as he pleased—3. That he and all his followers would lay aside any malice, hatred, or ill will, that they had conceived against any person or persons—4. That he and all his followers would live quietly and peaceably, as became good subjects, in all time to come—5. And that he would treat the king on all occasions with the highest respect and reverence. To the instrument containing these conditions, the seals of the earl of Douglas and of James lord Hamilton, his most zealous Pacification.

(46) Buchan. lib. 11. p. 213. Pitcottie, p. 42. Hawthornden, p. 32. Abercromby, vol. 2. p. 357.

(47) Rym. Fœd. tom. 11. p. 310, 311.

A. D. 1452. associate, were affixed (48). About the same time, or perhaps a little before, the earl of Crawford threw himself at the king's feet, and implored his mercy; which, at the intercession of that excellent prelate James Kennedy, bishop of St. Andrew's, he obtained, and was restored to his estate and honours (49).

A. D. 1453. The king was so fully convinced of the sincerity of the
Truce. earl of Douglas in his late submission, that he appointed him one of his plenipotentiaries to negotiate the prolongation of the truce with England, by a commission, dated April 18, A. D. 1453 (50). Vested with this commission, the earl went to London, and concluded with the commissioners of the king of England, at Westminster, May 23, the same year, a prolongation of the truce then subsisting, from May 21, A. D. 1453, to May 21, A. D. 1457 (51).

Marriage of But the earl abused the confidence of his sovereign on
the earl of this occasion; and, while he was acting as his plenipotentiary, employed himself in preparing for a formidable rebellion against him. Margaret, formerly called the *Fair Maid of Galloway*, widow of the late earl of Douglas, by whom she had no children, was then in England, and, by the death of her husband, intitled to all the great estates of which she had been heiress. Earl James, pretending that she was still a virgin, courted and prevailed upon her to marry him, without waiting for a dispensation from the pope, or the consent of his own sovereign. Soon after his arrival in England, he seems to have had a design to make a journey to Rome, to procure a dispensation for this extraordinary marriage, and obtained a safe-conduct for himself, his three brothers, James lord Hamilton, James lord Livingston, twenty-five other knights and gentlemen by name, with 112 persons in their company, to pass through England in their way to Rome (52). It is not very improbable that this journey never was intended, and that this protection for so many persons was procured for other purposes. What other engagements the earl of Douglas en-

(48) Annot. in Buchan. p. 442.

(49) Pittiville, p. 46—49.

(50) Rym. Fœd. t. 11. p. 324, 325.

(51) Id. ibid. p. 327—336.

(52) Rym. Fœd. tom. 11. p. 326, 327.

tered into with the court of England at this time, we are ^{A. D. 1453.} not informed.

When king James received intelligence of the transactions of the earl of Douglas in England, particularly of his marriage with his brother's widow, he could no longer doubt of his ill designs, and determined to deprive him, as soon as possible, of the power of doing mischief. With this view he marched an army into Galloway, the patrimony of the countess Margaret, and without much difficulty subjected the country, and secured the castles, but treated the people with great lenity. He used more severity towards the inhabitants of Douglassdale, on account of their greater attachment to their chieftain. At last he besieged the castle of Abercorn, a strong place provided with a brave garrison (53).

A. D. 1454.
Siege of
Abercorn.

In the mean time the earl of Douglas and his friends, had not been idle. He sent his mother the countess Beatrix, and his wife the countess Margaret, into England, that they might be out of danger (54). Having received a sum of money from the court of England, he, with the lords and gentlemen of his party, collected their followers, and formed an army, it is said, of 30,000 men, with which they directed their march towards Abercorn. But when the earl approached the royal army, which was much inferior to his own, he delayed to give battle. This was a fatal error, which disgusted several of his bravest friends, and dispirited all his troops. In the night, James lord Hamilton was prevailed upon, by a message from bishop Kennedy, promising pardon, favour, and rewards, to go over with his followers to the royal camp. As soon as this was known, some imitated his example, others went to their own homes; and the earl, finding himself deserted by the greatest part of his army, retired with precipitation, and fled into England (55).

Earl of
Douglas
ruined.

The king, having spent the spring of this year in pardoning such of the earl of Douglas's partisans as implored ^{A. D. 1455.} Parliament.

(53) Buchan. l. II. p. 214. Pitiscottie, p. 50, 51.

(54) Rym. Fœd. tom. II. p. 349.

(55) Buchan. l. II. p. 214. Pitiscottie, p. 51—55. Hawthornden, p. 53. Abercromby, vol. 2. p. 360, 361.

A. D. 1455. his mercy, and in establishing peace and good order in the country, called a parliament to meet at Edinburgh, June 9, A. D. 1455. In the first session of this parliament, James earl of Douglas, Beatrix countess of Douglas, his mother, Archibald, earl of Moray, and John lord Balveny, his brothers, with a few of their most obstinate adherents, were attainted, and their estates confiscated. The parliament was then adjourned to August 4 in the same year (56).

Earl of
Douglas de-
feated.

James earl of Douglas did not long remain quiet in England; but having, by the assistance of his brothers and other friends, collected a considerable body of troops, English as well as Scots, he entered Scotland by the west marches. But he was not permitted to penetrate far into the country; for being met in Annandale by the earl of Angus, the lord Carlisle of Torthorwald, the laird of Johnstone, and other loyal barons, at the head of their vassals, his army was defeated, Archibald earl of Moray, one of his brothers, was killed, and Hugh, earl of Ormond, another of his brothers, was taken, and soon after beheaded. The earl of Douglas, with his other brother John lord Balveny, escaped with great difficulty back to England, where the earl soon after, August 7, A. D. 1455, obtained a pension of 500*l.* a-year, equivalent to 5000*l.* of our money at present (57).

Parliament. The parliament met again, August 4, the day to which it had been adjourned. In this session several good laws were made, and the attainders of the earl of Douglas, the countess Beatrix his mother, and the lord Balveny, (omitting the earl of Moray, who was then dead), were confirmed. It was further declared to be high treason to give any entertainment or assistance to any of those persons, or to any of their adherents (58). This parliament was again adjourned to the 13th of October.

(56) Black Acts, f. 34.

(57) Rym Fœd. tom. ii. p. 367. Our historians indeed say, that the earl and his brother wandered in disguise into the highlands of Scotland, and after stirring up the earl of Ross to rebellion, returned in the same manner into England. But this is very improbable in itself, and it is still more improbable that the earl would have received so noble a pension in his absence, when he was a forlorn wanderer, and it was unknown whether he was alive or dead.

(58) Black Acts, f. 45, 46.

It cannot be certainly known at this distance of time, whether Margaret countess of Douglas married her first husband's brother willingly or by constraint. But however that might be, when she saw him ruined, and all his and her own great estates confiscated, she forsook him, returned into Scotland, implored the king's compassion, and declared, that she had been compelled to her second marriage, which had given him so much offence. The king admitted the apology of this unfortunate lady, granted her the lordship of Balveny, and married her to the eldest of his own uterine brothers, John Stewart earl of Athol.

A. D. 1455.

Margaret
countess of
Douglas
married to
the earl of
Athol.

The parliament met at Stirling, October 13, according to adjournment. In this session many wise regulations were made, for guarding the borders, for conveying the quickest intelligence of an approaching enemy, by kindling fires on certain eminences, and for convening the lieges with the greatest expedition to defend their country (40). It soon appeared that these precautions were not unnecessary. The nation, in a few months after, was involved both in a civil and foreign war.

Rebellion
and invasion.

Donald, lord of the Isles, a fierce ambitious chieftain, provoked at the annexation of the earldom of Ross (that had formerly belonged to his family) to the crown by act of parliament, entered into a dangerous combination with the English and the earl of Douglas, and engaged to raise a rebellion in the north, while they invaded the kingdom on the south. In consequence of this concert, an army, composed of Scots and English, commanded by the earls of Douglas and Northumberland, passed the east marches in the spring of this year, and began to plunder the country as usual. But George Douglas, earl of Angus, who was then considered as the chief of that illustrious name, assaulted and defeated these plunderers, and obliged them to repass the border with considerable loss. In the mean time, the lord of the Isles had burnt the town of Inverness, and destroyed a great extent of country with fire and sword; but hearing of the defeat of his confederates, and beginning to dread the consequences of his rebellion, he sent a mes-

(59) Pitfcottie, p. 56.

(60) See Black Acts, f. 36.

A. D. 1456. messenger to the king, promising submission and imploring pardon. The king returned this answer—That when he had laid down his arms, repaired the damage he had done, and given some signal proof of the sincerity of his submission, he might hope for pardon. Trusting to this answer and the intercession of his lady, who was then at court, he disbanded his army, and retired into the Isles, by which the tranquillity of the country was once more restored (61).

Letters.

King James, justly offended at the support and assistance that had been given to his rebellious subject and most inveterate enemy, the earl of Douglas, by the court of England, in the time of a truce, wrote an expostulatory letter to that court on that subject, and sent it by Lyon king at arms. To this letter a very passionate, or rather scurrilous answer was returned, July 26, in the name of king Henry, but most probably by his haughty queen and imprudent ministers, without his knowledge, at a time when they vainly imagined they had got the better of all their enemies. This curious answer was directed—To the illustrious prince James, who behaves as if he was king of Scotland; accuses him of pride, vanity, calumny, cowardice, fraud, perjury, rebellion, and many other crimes, and threatens to chastise him for his impudence and presumption (62): a threat that was never executed.

Parliament.

James, disregarding these impotent threats, called a parliament, to meet at Edinburgh October 19, A. D. 1456. In this parliament many excellent laws were made,—for the defence of the kingdom, by arming the people, providing artillery, &c.—for preventing the spreading of the pestilence that then raged;—for the regulation of the coin,—the administration of justice,—and the encouragement of trade (63). It is impossible to peruse these laws without entertaining a good opinion of the wisdom and patriotism of those who made them.

France.

The English ministry, who had lately treated king James with so much contempt, being now involved in

(61) Black Acts, f. 34, 35. Buchan. l. 11. p. 215. Abercromby, vol. 2. p. 265, &c. Pitcottii, p. 57, 58.

(62) Rymer. Fœd. tom. 11. p. 383.

(63) Black Acts, f. 38, 39.

great perplexity, and hardly able to defend their country from the French, by whom it was this year twice invaded, gladly agreed to a truce with Scotland for two years, which was concluded at Coventry June 11, A. D. 1457 (64). A. D. 1457.

King James, who seems to have been fond of parliaments, called one to meet at Edinburgh March 6, A. D. 1457, in which no fewer than thirty-seven public acts were made, on a great variety of subjects, and all of them well calculated to promote the safety and prosperity of the kingdom. In the last of these acts, the three estates express their joy, "that God, of his grace, has send our soverane lord sic progressis and prosperity, that all his rebellis and brekaris of his justice ar removit out of his realme, and na maisterfull party remainand, that may cause ony breking in his realme. His three estatis maist humbly exhortis and requyris his hienes to be inclynit, with sic diligence, to the execution of thir statutis, actis, and decretis above written, that God may be emplest of him, and all his liegis, spiritual and temporal (65)." Parliament.

So good a correspondence was now restored between king James and Henry VI. that by an intercourse of letters, without any meeting of plenipotentiaries, four years were added, December 31, A. D. 1457, to the truce that had been concluded at Coventry a few months before. The reasons assigned by James for his agreeing to this prolongation of the truce were, his love of peace, the desire of the king of England, and the exhortations of the pope (66). Truce prolonged.

Scotland enjoyed a profound peace during these two years; a thing not very common in those turbulent and restless times. In order to the continuance of that peace, the plenipotentiaries of both kings met at Newcastle, and on September 12, A. D. 1459, added five years to the late truce, which prolonged it to July 6, that was to be A. D. 1468 (67). A. D. 1458.
and
A. D. 1459.
Truce further prolonged.

The contest between the houses of York and Lancaster had now become very violent, and seemed to be approaching A. D. 1460.
King James killed.

(64) Rym. Fœd. tom. 11. p. 389—399.

(65) Black Acts, f. 6—46.

(66) Rym. Fœd. tom. 11. p. 407.

(67) Id. Ibid. p. 426—436.

A. D. 1460. approaching to a crisis. The Yorkists, it is said, sent ambassadors to solicit the assistance of the king of Scotland, promising the restitution of the towns and lands claimed by that king (68). We know with certainty, that Henry VI. granted a safe-conduct June 2, A. D. 1460, to the bishops of Glasgow and Aberdeen, the abbots of Holyroodhouse, Melrose, and Dumfermline, the lords Livingston, Evandale, and Montgomery, Mr. John Arrowes, and Mr. Nicholas Outerbourne, to come into England, to treat with him about the better observation of the late truce (69). Some historians affirm, that James was instigated by Henry VI. to undertake the siege of Roxburgh, because it was held by Yorkists (70). However that may be, it is unquestionable that James raised an army, with which he invested Roxburgh, about the beginning of July this year; but at whose instigation he did this, or how he reconciled his doing it with the truce that then subsisted between the two kingdoms, I have not been able to discover. He soon took and destroyed the town, but the castle was defended with great bravery. The earl of Huntley, with his followers, arriving in the camp, the king conducted him to the trenches, to be present at a discharge of the artillery against the fort, August 3, A. D. 1460; but, unfortunately, one of the guns burst, killed the king on the spot, and wounded the earl of Angus, without hurting any other person (71).

His character.

Thus fell James II. in the 24th year of his reign, and the 30th of his age. In his person he was strong and active, excelling in all manly and martial exercises. He had a large red spot on one side of his face, and on that account was called by the common people *James with the fiery face*. His deportment was uncommonly affable and courteous, which endeared him to persons of all ranks. In his early youth, his temper was warm and passionate; but as he advanced in life, he became cool, cautious, and considerate, conducting all his affairs with prudence. In a word, James II. was a brave, wise,

(68) Buchan. l. ii. p. 216. Pitkeottie, p. 59, &c.

(69) Rom. For. tom. ii. p. 453.

(70) Abercromby, vol. 2. Echard, p. 511.

(71) Buchan. l. ii. p. 217. Hawthornien, p. 36.

and virtuous, but a very unfortunate prince, having A. D. 1460.
 been harassed from his infancy by the rebellions of his
 turbulent chieftains, and the invasions of his two power-
 ful neighbours; and when he had surmounted his diffi-
 culties, was happy in the love of his subjects, and had
 the prospect of a prosperous reign, he was cut off in a
 moment, in the prime and flower of his age.

James II. left by his queen Mary of Guelders, three His issue.
 sons and two daughters, viz. James, who succeeded
 him on the throne, Alexander Duke of Albany, John
 earl of Marr, the lady Mary, and the lady Cecilia.

The nobles and others, who were present at the king's Roxburgh
taken.
 death, concealed it for some time from the army; and the
 queen (a princess of bold courageous spirit), who had
 lately arrived in the camp, was so far from discouraging
 them by her lamentations, that she excited them by her
 exhortations to persevere in the siege with redoubled ar-
 dour, Animated by the speeches and example of the
 queen, they assaulted the castle with so much vigour that
 the garrison capitulated: and that fortress, which had
 been so long a receptacle to their enemies, was disman-
 tled (72). Encouraged by this success, they invaded
 England, plundered the country, and took and demo-
 lished several castles, particularly that of Werk (73).

SECTION III.

*From the death of James II. A. D. 1460, to the death of
 James III. A. D. 1488.*

JAMES III. was about six years and seven A. D. 1460.
 months old at his accession; and being brought to the
 camp before Roxburgh, a few days after his father's James III.
 death, he received the homage of his barons at the neigh-

(72) Boet, p. 381. Buchan. l. 11. p. 217. Pittscottie, p. 65. Aber-
 cromby, vol. 2. p. 382.

(73) Buchan. l. 12. p. 218.

A. D. 1460. bouring monastery of Kelfo, where, as it is said by some historians, he was also crowned (1).

A. D. 1461. About the beginning of this year a parliament met at Edinburgh, in order to settle the administration during the king's minority. One party of the nobles wished to raise the queen-dowager to the regency, in hopes of governing in her name; while another party opposed her elevation, in hopes of their own advancement. At length, after very warm debates, which had almost proceeded to blows, the matter was compromised in this manner: the custody of the king's person, and of his brothers and sisters, was committed to the queen, their mother; and a council of regency was established, composed of noblemen of both parties. In this council, Andrew lord Evandale, the chancellor, and James Kennedy, bishop of St. Andrew's, both nearly related to the royal family, had the greatest influence for some years, which contributed very much to the peace and good government of the kingdom (2).

Transac-
tions of
Henry VI.
in Scotland.

After several sudden and surprising turns of fortune, the contest between the houses of York and Lancaster seemed to be finally determined by the bloody battle of Towton, March 29, A. D. 1461, in which the Lancastrians were defeated with great slaughter. Henry VI. with his queen and only son Edward prince of Wales, fled for shelter to the court of Scotland, where they were kindly received and hospitably entertained. To engage the Scots to espouse his cause with greater warmth, king Henry surrendered to them the town and castle of Berwick, April 25, and the young king of Scots visited his new and important acquisition, June 16 (3). Still farther to strengthen the union between the two royal families, the two queens concerted a marriage between the princess Mary of Scotland and Edward prince of Wales, which never took effect.

Negotia-
tions.

Edward IV. who had now taken possession of the throne of England, observing that the Scots entertained

(1) Buchan. l. 12. p. 218. Hawthornden, p. 39.

(2) The records of parliament in the six years of James III. are lost, which obliges me to take my information from such historians as are most worthy of credit. Buchan. lib. 12. p. 219, &c. Hawthornden, p. 39. Abercromby, vol. 2. p. 384, 385.

(3) Carte, vol. 2. p. 762. Stow, p. 416.

and favoured his rival, determined to raise them up enemies at home, to prevent their giving Henry any effectual assistance. With this view he gained the exiled earl of Douglas to his party, and appointed him, June 22, A. D. 1461, his plenipotentiary, to negotiate an alliance between him "and his most dear cousin, John lord of the Isles and earl of Ross, and his beloved and faithful friend Donald Ballagh (4)." The design of this negotiation was, to excite these turbulent chieftains to rebellion; and yet, in a few weeks after (August 2), he appointed Richard earl of Warwick his ambassador, to treat with the ministers of his most dear cousin, James king of Scotland, about a truce (3): a sufficient evidence, that though Edward was but a young prince, he was an artful politician. Both these negotiations were carried on during the remainder of this year.

The negotiation with the lord of the Isles was most successful, and terminated in a very curious treaty, A. D. 1462. Treaty.
 "between the most high and mighty prince Edward IV. king of England and France, and lord of Ireland; and the full honourable lord John de Isle, earl of Ross, and lord of the Out Isles." By the first article of this treaty (which was concluded at London, February 13, A. D. 1462), John lord of the Isles and earl of Ross, Donald Ballagh, and John de Isle, son and heir of the said Donald, with their subjects and people, engaged to become the subjects and liege men of the king of England, his heirs and successors. 2. They engaged to be ready at Whitsunday to assist the king of England, with all their power, in his wars in Scotland, or against the Scots in Ireland. 3. Edward engaged to pay to the earl of Ross a subsidy of 100 marks in time of peace, and 200l. in time of war; to Donald, 20l. in time of peace, and 40l. in time of war; to John the son of Donald, 10l. in time of peace, and 20l. in time of war, all sterling money, during their respective lives. 4. It was agreed, that when the king of England, with the assistance of these allies, and of James earl of Douglas, had subdued the kingdom of Scotland, or the greatest part of it, he should grant all the countries beyond the Forth to the earls of Ross and Douglas and

(4) Rym. Fœd. tom. II. p. 474.

(5) Id. ibid. p. 475.

A. D. 1462. Donald Ballagh, to be equally divided among them, and held of the crown of England; and that the earl of Douglas should be restored to all his estates to the south of Forth. 5. Edward engaged, that if he made any peace or truce with the king of Scotland, his allies should be comprehended in it (6). As a reward to the earl of Douglas for bringing about this alliance, and other services, Edward granted him a pension of 500*l.* sterling a year for life, February 18, A. D. 1462 (7).

Rebellion. In consequence of this treaty, the earl of Ross and his confederates broke out into open rebellion, surprised the castle of Inverness, and, advancing into the country, approached the castle of Blair in Athol. The earl of Athol, not daring to trust to the strength of his castle, took shelter, with his countess, friends, and most valuable effects, in a neighbouring church, dedicated to St. Bridget, which was believed to be an inviolable sanctuary. But the ferocious enemy, paying no regard to the sanctity of the place, seized the earl and countess, and the goods in the church, and then set it on fire. The season being now far advanced, the islanders, according to their custom, became impatient to secure their booty; and, embarking with their prisoners and plunder, set sail for their islands. But they were overtaken, on their passage, by a violent storm, by which many of their vessels were wrecked, and the rest dispersed. In this confusion, the earl and countess of Athol were either set at liberty, or made their escape (8).

A. D. 1463. When Henry the VI. and his queen arrived in Scotland after the battle of Towton, they laboured to engage the most powerful of the nobility in their interest, by promises of great rewards on their restoration. To George earl of Angus Henry granted an estate between the Trent and Humber, worth 2000 marks a year, to be erected into a duchy, with many uncommon privileges (9). Though the earl of Angus never obtained, he endeavoured to merit, this reward. A body of French troops, brought over by queen Margaret, was besieged in Aln-

(6) Rym. Fœd. tom. 11. p. 484—487.

(7) *Id. ibid.* p. 487.

(8) This transaction is so differently related by our historians, that I give the above account of it only as the most probable. See Buchanan. lib. 12. p. 225. Abercromby, vol. 2. p. 397. Hawthornden, p. 39.

(9) Godscroft, p. 216.

wick castle, and in great danger of being killed or taken ^{A. D. 1463.} prisoners. The earl of Angus raised his followers, mounted them, and, with a competent number of spare horses to mount the garrison, attempted their relief. This attempt was conducted with so much spirit and dexterity, that the earl brought off the French in the face of a superior army, without being interrupted or pursued (10).

The battle of Hexham, fought May 15, A. D. 1464, ^{A. D. 1464.} having quite ruined the Lancastrians, the regency of Scotland became earnest to make a peace or long truce. ^{Long truce.} Edward IV. who seemed now to be firmly fixed on the throne of England. A truce for fifteen years was accordingly concluded at York, June 1, to commence on the last day of October in the same year, when a short truce which then subsisted would have ended (11).

An event happened about the time that this truce ^{Duke of Albany,} was made, which threatened its immediate dissolution. ^{taken and released.} The Scottish regents having resolved to send Alexander duke of Albany, the eldest of the king's two brothers, into France for his education, obtained a safe-conduct for him and 200 persons in his company, April 20, A. D. 1464, for one year, from Edward IV. in all his dominions, both by sea and land (12). But the young prince and his attendants were made prisoners on their passage, by some English ships. These English mariners probably imagined, that this would be as agreeable to Edward as the capture of the prince of Scotland had been to Henry IV. But in this they were mistaken. The prince with his suit were instantly set at liberty, and a proper apology made for what had happened.

A cessation of hostilities, and (if possible) a cordial friendship, ^{Negotiation.} were at this time very necessary to both the British nations: to the Scots, in the minority of their king; to the English, in the distracted state of their country after the civil wars. Edward IV. seems to have done every thing in his power to secure peace on that side, and to gain the good will of his nearest neighbours. A few

(10) Godscroft, p. 216.

(11) Rym. Fœd. tom. 11. p. 525.

(12) Id. ibid. p. 520.

A. D. 1464. days after the late truce was made, he appointed commissioners to guard against the violation of it (13). He granted a commission, October 9, A. D. 1464, to John earl of Northumberland, Ralph lord Graystock, and four others, to meet with commissioners of the king of Scotland, November 6, to consider of the most effectual means of increasing and perpetuating the peace that then subsisted between the two kingdoms (14).

Long truce. The regency of Scotland discovered no aversion to the pacific proposals of the king of England. It seems probable, that at the above meeting in November A. D. 1464, the plenipotentiaries had agreed, that—the marriage of the young king of Scots with an English princess—inter-marriages between the noble families of the two kingdoms—and a definitive treaty of peace instead of a truce, would be the most effectual means of perpetuating peace. For Edward gave a commission to John Nevile earl of Northumberland, and eight others, July 20, A. D. 1465, to meet with commissioners to be appointed by the king of Scots, and treat on these three subjects (15). Accordingly the king of Scotland gave a commission, at his castle of Down in Monteith, November 28, to the bishops of Glasgow and Aberdeen, David earl of Crawford, Colin earl of Argyle, the abbot of Holyroodhouse, James lord Livingston, James Lindsay provost of Lincluden, and Sir Alexander Boyde of Duncow, to meet with the English commissioners at Newcastle, on the 4th of December (16). We hear of no marriages that were agreed upon at this meeting; nor could the commissioners settle the terms of a definitive treaty of peace; but they added forty years to the truce that then subsisted, which prolonged it to A. D. 1510; a much longer period than there was any probability that it would be observed (17).

A. D. 1466. James Kennedy, bishop of St. Andrew's, died, May 10, A. D. 1466; and his death was a great calamity to his country (18). His royal descent, his sacred function, his great wisdom, and many virtues, had procured him great influence in all affairs; and that influence he con-

(13) Rym. Fœd. tom. 11. p. 527.

(14) Id. ibid. p. 535.

(15) Rym. Fœd. tom. 11. p. 546.

(16) Id. ibid. p. 549.

(17) Id. ibid. p. 557.

(18) Abercromby, vol. 2. p. 393.

stantly employed for the good of the king and kingdom. ^{A. D. 1466.}
 He had taken much pains with the education of the young king, who at this time was esteemed a prince of great hopes (19).

The good bishop had not been three months in his grave, when the state both of the court and country was unhappily changed. This was owing to the unbounded ambition of the family of the Boydes; who rose to the highest pitch of grandeur with astonishing rapidity, and with no less rapidity sunk into the deepest distresses. Robert lord Boyde of Kilmarnock, the head of that family, was at this time high justiciary, and a member of the council of regency; and being a nobleman of an opulent fortune and great abilities, he had many friends. His brother, Sir Alexander Boyde of Duncow, was a most accomplished gentleman, and had been appointed to instruct the young king in riding, tilting, and the other martial exercises of the times; which gave him great opportunities of gaining the favour of his royal pupil. While bishop Kennedy lived, both these brothers behaved with great propriety; but as soon as that prelate died, knowing the interest they had in the affections of their prince, they formed a plot to get the entire possession of his person, in order to ingross to themselves, and dispense to their friends, the honours and emoluments of the state. This plot was artfully contrived and boldly executed. Sir Alexander Boyde inspired the king with disgust at the strictness of the lord Kennedy, who superintended, and of the other gentlemen who conducted, his education; and persuaded him, that, being in his thirteenth year, he should assume the reins of government, and command those whom he now obeyed. Finding that this project was highly pleasing to the youthful monarch, he proposed to take him out of the hands of his preceptors on a certain day, and conduct him to Edinburgh, where he should take upon him the government; to which the king agreed. In consequence of this concert, Sir Alexander Boyde, with a few friends, came to the exchequer in Linlithgow early in the morning, July 10, and carried out the king, to give him as

King taken,
from Lin-
lithgow.

A D. 1466. they pretended, the diversion of hunting. When they arrived on the field, they were received by the lords Boyde, Somerville, and other chieftains, at the head of a body of men well armed and mounted, who struck into the road of Edinburgh. The lord Kennedy, being soon informed of what had happened, followed him with so much haste, that he came up with them only a few miles on their way; and laying his hand on the bridle of the king's horse, earnestly intreated him to return. But Sir Alexander Boyde, pretending to resent the insult, as he called it, offered to the king, gave lord Kennedy much injurious language, and at last struck him a blow with his hunting-staff; which obliged him to desist from the straggle, and return to Linlithgow, vowing revenge for the injuries he had received (20).

Parliament. Though the Boydes were now in the possession both of the heart and person of their prince, they were far from being easy in their minds. Knowing that what they had done in carrying off the king from the place appointed for his residence, had lately been declared high treason by an act of parliament, they were apprehensive that they might one day be called to a severe account for that action (21). To prevent this, they called a parliament in the king's name, to meet at Edinburgh, October 8; and on the 13th of that month, the lord Boyde fell on his knees before the king, seated on his throne, in full parliament, and intreated him to declare if he entertained any resentment or displeasure against him and his friends for conducting him from Linlithgow to Edinburgh. The king answered, as he had been instructed, "That he entertained no displeasure against the lord Boyde and his friends for that action, which they had performed at his own command, and for which they never should be called in question." The lord Boyde then requested, that the king's gracious declaration should be inserted in the registers of parliament, and a copy of it delivered to him under the great seal; and both these requests were granted (22). Certain lords were invested by

(20) Buchan. l. 12. p. 225; 226. Ferrari Append. Hist. Scot. c. 387. Hawthornden, p. 42. Abercromby, vol. 2. p. 394. Crawford's Officers of State, Append. p. 473.

(21) Black Acts, l. 30.

(22) Crawford's Officers of State, Append. p. 473.

this parliament with parliamentary powers to continue ^{A. D. 1466.} till the next session, which was appointed to begin January 31, A. D. 1467 (23). These lords were particularly directed to commune about proper matches for the king, the princess Mary, his eldest sister, and his two brothers; and to settle all disputes with the king of Denmark about the annual of Norway, which was an annuity of one hundred marks demanded by that king, in consequence of a treaty between Alexander III. and Magnus IV. king of Norway, when that prince ceded the western isles to Scotland, A. D. 1266 (24). As this parliament was entirely under the influence of the Boydes, this measure was dictated by them, for purposes that soon appeared.

As lord Boyde was now possessed of all the power of ^{A. D. 1467.} the crown, he determined to employ it to the aggrandisement of his family. He was already high justiciary, ^{Elevation of the Boydes.} governor of the king and kingdom; and he now procured the great office of lord chamberlain for life, by a commission under the great seal, August 25, A. D. 1467 (25). To crown the whole, he obtained the consent of the king, and of the committee of parliament, to the marriage of the princess Mary with his eldest son Sir Thomas Boyde, who was created earl of Arran, and got grants of several valuable estates with his royal bride (26). Thus the Boydes were raised as high as subjects could be raised, and their grandeur seemed to be built on the most solid foundation. They enjoyed the favour of their sovereign in the highest degree, and were as intimately connected with the royal family as it was possible—they had great estates and many friends, and filled the highest offices in the kingdom (27). But all this could not preserve them from a sudden and most deplorable reverse of fortune, which they do not seem to have merited by any very remarkable abuse of their prosperity.

The king being now in his fifteenth year, the Boydes, ^{The king contracted.} who had the direction of all affairs, very wisely resolved

(23) Black Acts, f. 46.

(24) Black Acts, f. 46. Torfsa Hist. Orcad. p. 171.

(25) Crawford's Officers of State, p. 315.

(26) Id. ibid.

(27) See lord Boyde's commission of governor of the kingdom, and the king, and his two brothers, Appendix, No. 2.

A. D. 1468. to provide a proper consort for him, and fixed their thoughts on Margaret, only daughter of Christiern I. king of Sweden, Denmark, and Norway, a princess famous for her beauty and amiable dispositions. By this marriage they hoped to terminate the dispute about the annual of Norway, which had of late become very serious, and to procure the sovereignty of the Orkney and Shetland isles, as well as a considerable sum of money. Andrew lord Evandale, chancellor and cousin to the king, and Thomas Boyde, earl of Arran, his brother-in-law, were appointed ambassadors to negotiate this marriage; and their commission passed the great seal at Edinburgh; July 28, A. D. 1468 (28). These ambassadors succeeded in their negotiation; and the contract of marriage between king James and the princess Margaret was sealed at Copenhagen, September 8, of the same year (29). By that contract, king Christiern resigned, for himself and his successors, all claim to the annual of Norway, and all arrears of that annual, and engaged to pay, as his daughter's marriage-portion, 60,000 florins of the Rhine. Of these florins 10,000 were to be paid before his daughter left Denmark; and for the remaining 50,000 he mortgaged the Orkney islands, which were to be retained by the king of Scotland, and his successors, till that money was paid. The palace of Linlithgow, and the castle of Down, with a third part of the revenues of the crown, were settled on the princess as her dowry (30). As it was thought too late in the season to conduct the princess into Scotland, the ambassadors returned to give an account of their negotiation.

A. D. 1469. In the spring A. D. 1469, the earl of Arran was sent
Parliament. with a good fleet, and a splendid train of lords and ladies, to bring home the young queen. He arrived at Copenhagen about the beginning of May. Christiern I. being then at war with his Swedish subjects, found it inconvenient to pay the 10,000 florins, which were to be paid before his daughter left Denmark. By a new treaty with the Ambassador, therefore, May 20, he paid immediately 2000 florins, and mortgaged the Shetland isles for the remaining 8000, and transmitted letters, dated

(28) Torfæi Hist. Orcad. p. 193, 194.

(29) Id. ibid. p. 197.

(30) Torfæi Hist. Orcad. p. 197.

May 28, to all his subjects in Orkney and Shetland, acquainting them with these transactions, and commanding them to pay their tribute to, and obey the king of Scotland and his successors, till these islands were redeemed by him or his successors (31). A. D. 1469.

King James and his royal bride being both very young, the earl of Arran made no haste to return home. This was a fatal error, and proved ruinous to himself and all his family; for his father lord Boyde, and his uncle sir Alexander, being both advanced in life, and much engaged in business, could not give so constant an attendance on the king as was necessary to secure his favour, and exclude others from his company, who might do them ill offices. Their enemies, of which they had many, and particularly the noble family of the Kennedies, who being nearly related to the royal family, had free access to the king, neglected no opportunity of inspiring him with suspicions, fears, and jealousy of the Boydes. They insinuated,—that the lord Boyde, with his brother and son, had abused his goodness and favour, by engrossing all the power and emoluments of the government, to the exclusion of the other nobles, who were generally discontented; that they had disgraced the royal family by the marriage of the princess Mary to the earl of Arran; they even hinted, that they had cast ambitious eyes upon the crown, and that the king and his brothers were not safe while they were in the hands of that dangerous aspiring family. These, and such insinuations, frequently repeated by persons who studied to please him, and appeared to be so deeply concerned for his honour and safety, made so strong an impression on the king's mind, that by degrees he was brought to fear and hate the Boydes more violently than he had ever loved them. When things had come to this crisis, and the king had entered warmly into the design of ruining the Boydes, a parliament was called to meet at Edinburgh, November 20. A. D. 1469; and the lord Boyde, his brother sir Alexander, and his son the earl of Arran (though then in Denmark on the king's business), were summoned to appear before it, to answer Decline of the Boydes.

(31) *Id. ibid.* p. 188, 189.

A. D. 1469. to the accusations that were to be brought against them (31).

Fall of the
Boyde..

The lord Boyde was astonished beyond measure at this unexpected change in the affections of his sovereign. At first he resolved to face the storm, and to come to parliament with so great a retinue as would overawe his enemies. But finding that he had more powerful foes, and fewer friends than he had imagined, he dismissed his followers, and fled into England, where he died, A. D. 1470. Sir Alexander Boyde being sick, could not or would not fly. The parliament proceeded, November 22, to the trial of the lord Boyde, and his son the earl of Arran, in their absence. They were accused of high treason, for taking the king out of the exchequer at Linlithgow, and bringing him to Edinburgh against his will, July 10, 1466, which, by act of parliament (says the record), and by the canon and civil law, is declared to be treason. No person appearing in their defence, they were immediately found guilty, and all their estates confiscated. Sir Alexander Boyde was brought to the bar the same day, and accused of the same crime; to which he pleaded not guilty. The jury, which consisted of the following lords and barons, David earl of Crawford, James earl of Morton, William lord Abernethy, George lord Seaton, George lord Gordon, Alexander lord Glamis, George Halyburton, Walter lord Lorn, John Dillington of Ardrossie, Archibald Dundas of Dundas, John Stewart of Craigie, William Thane of Calder, Alexander Straton of Laurieston, John Wardlaw of Ricarton, George Campbell of Loudon, having heard the evidence and pleadings for the crown, and the defence of the prisoner, retired a little to deliberate, and then returned with a verdict, finding the prisoner guilty. He was then condemned to be beheaded on the castle hill of Edinburgh, the common place of execution, and his estate confiscated. The parliament, November 27, annexed all the great estates of the Boyde family to the crown (32). Thus fell the Boydes, from a height of power and opulence to which few subjects in Scotland ever attained, by a ruin equally sudden and unexpected. If they really carried off the king from Lin-

(31) Black Acts, f. 51. Buchan. p. 227, 228.

(32) Trial of the Boydes, extracted from the Records, p. 187.

Lithgow by force, intentionally corrupted his manners, and abused the facility of his youth, as was now alleged, their fate was not unmerited; but if they were innocent of all this, as they affirmed, it fixes an indelible stain on the memory of James III. or rather on those who possessed his confidence, and took advantage of his youth and inexperience.

Though the earl of Arran must have heard in Denmark of these transactions, so fatal to his family and so threatening to himself, he determined to execute the honourable commission with which he was invested, probably entertaining hopes, that the influence of the young and beautiful queen he was bringing home, joined to that of his own affectionate consort, the king's sister, would procure his pardon, and bring him into favour. He sailed from Copenhagen about the end of May A. D. 1470, and arrived in a few days in the frith of Forth. As soon as the fleet was discovered, the countess of Arran made her escape from Edinburgh in disguise, and got on board her husband's ship. But she brought him no comfort, but that of mingling her tears with his, and declaring her resolution to share in all his fortunes; for she assured him, that the power and malice of his enemies were then so great, that if he fell into their hands, he would certainly be put to death. On receiving this assurance, the unfortunate earl went with his countess on board a Danish ship in his fleet, and immediately returned to Denmark (33).

A. D. 1469

A. D. 1470.
Earl of Arran flees to Denmark.

After the flight of the earl of Arran, the fleet proceeded up the Frith; the queen landed at Leith, amidst the loud acclamations of a prodigious multitude of people, and was married to the king, with uncommon festivity and pomp, June 15, A. D. 1470, the royal bridegroom being in his seventeenth, and the blooming bride in her sixteenth year. Queen Margaret excelled all the princesses of that age (says Ferrerius) in beauty and the elegance of her person, but still more in prudence, piety, modesty, and sweetness of temper (34). Ten days after their marriage (June 25), the king granted her the castle and lordship of Kilmarnock, to purchase ornaments for her head, and some other parts of dress (35).

The king's marriage.

(33) Buchan. l. 12. p. 228. Ferrerius in Append. ad Hist. Boeth. f. 388.

(34) Id. ibid. f. 389.

(35) Register of the great seal, register-office, Edinburgh.

A. D. 1471. The adventures of the unfortunate earl of Arran after his flight are not certainly known, as different accounts are given of them by different authors (36). All we know with certainty is, that his consort bore him a son and a daughter, while she remained with him in exile (37). The king her brother, or those about him, used every possible means to prevail upon her to abandon her husband and return home, but for a considerable time all these means were ineffectual. At length he directed or permitted her friends in Scotland to give her hopes, that if she complied with the king's desire, she would probably procure the restoration of her husband to his estates and honours. Influenced by these hopes, she returned to Scotland, most probably A. D. 1473. But she soon found that all applications in favour of her husband were perfectly vain and hopeless, and that other designs were formed. A prosecution for a divorce from him was commenced (but whether with her consent or not, or upon what grounds, we are not informed); and when we consider how easily divorces were obtained in those times, on a great variety of pretences, we have reason to believe that she was actually divorced, and her marriage with the earl of Arran dissolved. But however that might be, she was married to James lord Hamilton in June A. D. 1474; but whether her former husband was then dead or not is uncertain. The king granted a charter of the lands of Kinneil, and several other estates, to that lord and his wife Mary, the king's sister, dated July 12, A. D. 1474 (38). As king James was still young, it is uncertain what influence he had in these transactions.

A. D. 1475. Though the truce between the two British nations at this time was not well observed, and it was impossible to restrain the borderers from mutual depredations; yet as those who had the chief direction of affairs in both kingdoms were averse to war, these depredations did not produce an open rupture. To prevent this, frequent meetings of the commissioners of both kings were held every year, for several years, for redressing abuses, and contriving regulations for the better observation of the truce, of which a minute detail would afford little instruction

(36) Ferrer, f. 387. Buchan. p. 229.

(37) Id. p. 228.

(38) Register of the great seal, James III.]

and no entertainment Edward IV. after his restoration, ^{A. D. 1475.}
 A. D. 1471, that he might be at leisure to fix himself firmly on the throne, and take vengeance on his capital enemy the king of France, laboured earnestly to gain the friendship of the king, the nobles, and people of Scotland. With this view, he redressed all the injuries of which they complained with great alacrity, and set on foot a negotiation for promoting intermarriages between the great families of the two kingdoms, and between the two royal families (39). In consequence of these negotiations, a contract of marriage was concluded at Edinburgh October 26, A. D. 1474, between James prince of Scotland and the princess Cecilia, king Edward's youngest daughter, though they were both in their infancy (40).

The lords of the Isles, earls of Ross, had often rebelled, ^{A. D. 1476.}
 and been often subdued, but had never been cordial subjects to the kings of Scotland. We have already heard of the treasonable confederacy into which John lord of the Isles and earl of Ross entered with Edward IV. and how that confederacy was defeated, A. D. 1462 (41). That chieftain having about this time raised some fresh disturbances, and been obliged to submit, he was forfeited November 27, A. D. 1475, in a parliament that met at Edinburgh on the 20th of that month. But in the next parliament, that met at the same place, July 4, A. D. 1476, the king, at the earnest request of the queen, and in consideration of his relation to the royal family, with the consent of the whole parliament, July 25, restored him to blood, created him a lord of parliament, by the title of *lord of the Isles*, and granted him all his estates, which appear to have been very great, except the earldom of Ross, the lordships of Kintyre and Knapdale, which were, by an act of the same parliament, annexed to the crown (42).

In the course of this year, an unhappy quarrel broke ^{A. D. 1477.}
 out between the king and his two brothers, the duke of Albany and the earl of Mar, which was productive of the ^{Death of the earl of Mar.}
 most fatal consequences. James III. had a taste for the

(39) Rym. Fed. tom. II. p. 716—719. 733. 740. 748. 758. 774. 776. 786—791.

(40) Rym. Fed. tom. II. p. 824—834. (41) See p. 255, &c.

(42) Regist. Magni Sigilli, Jacobi III. Crawford's Peerage, p. 233. Black Acts, fol. 62.

A. D. 1477. fine arts, and spent much of his time in the company of those who excelled in these arts, who possessed a much greater share of his favour and bounty than they were intitled to by their rank in life. This gave great offence to his brothers, and to many of the ancient nobility, who were at no pains to conceal their contempt and hatred of those upstart favourites, and their dissatisfaction with the king on their account. The earl of Mar, being young, fierce, and passionate, was most unguarded in his expressions of resentment against the king, and threats of vengeance on his minions; for which he was confined, first at Craigmillar, and afterwards in the Canon-gate, where he died (43). The manner of his death is not certainly known; but the most probable account that is given of it seems to be this,—that the excess of his rage at his confinement threw him into a fever and phrenzy, of which he died (44).

A. D. 1478. The death of the earl of Mar, whatever the manner of it was, greatly increased the dissatisfaction of the discontented nobles with the king, and their rage against his favourites. The duke of Albany, not being able to conceal his indignation and designs of vengeance, was suddenly seized, and committed a close prisoner to the castle of Edinburgh, with only one page to attend him. Dreading either a public trial and execution, or private assassination, the duke made his escape out of the castle with great difficulty, and got on board a ship at Leith, which carried him to his castle of Dunbar. Thinking it unsafe to stay in that place, he made his escape into France; and the castle was soon after surrendered to the king (45).

A. D. 1479. The duke of Albany was kindly received by Lewis XI. **Marriage of** king of France; but that wise prince refused to employ any other means but intreaty and persuasion to obtain his restoration. He accordingly sent John Ireland, doctor of the Sorbonne, a Scotsman, famous for his eloquence and learning, as his ambassador to the king of Scotland, to persuade and intreat him to be reconciled to his brother, and restore him to his estates and honours. The ambassador was well chosen, and rendered himself highly

(43) Ferrer. fol. 291. Buchan. p. 232. Abercromby, vol. 2. p. 428.

(44) Hawthornden, p. 47. (45) Ferrer. p. 392. Buchan. p. 232.

acceptable to the king, by his preaching and conversation; but he was obliged to return without any success in his embassy. In the mean time, the king of France procured for the duke an advantageous marriage with a daughter of the earl of Boulogne, with an ample fortune; which enabled him to live in his exile in a manner suitable to his rank (46). A. D. 1479.

That harmony and friendly intercourse which had subsisted several years between the two British courts, was now unhappily interrupted. This was owing to the intrigues of the duke of Albany, and a discontented party of the Scots nobility, who carried on a treasonable correspondence with the king of England, and the exiled earl of Douglas, inviting them to invade their country, and promising them their assistance. Though king Edward had often declared the most determined resolution to observe the truce that then subsisted between the two nations; nay, though he had concluded a contract of marriage between the prince of Scotland and his youngest daughter, and had even paid a part of her portion, he had not the resolution to resist the prospect that now presented itself, of recovering the town of Berwick, and of gaining other advantages, by the distractions of his neighbours. The borderers were encouraged to make incursions into Scotland; which were instantly returned, and the flames of war were kindled in a moment (47). In the preamble to the commission which he granted, May 12, A. D. 1480, to his brother Richard duke of Gloucester, to be his lieutenant-general, he says, that—
 “ James king of Scotland; inflamed with inveterate en-
 “ mity and obdurate hatred, disregarding the honour of
 “ his own name, and despising all nobility, had deter-
 “ mined to break all his promises, and make war upon
 “ him:”—expressions which were plainly calculated to please the discontented nobles of Scotland (48). He granted another commission, June 20, to the duke of Gloucester, the earl of Northumberland, and many other lords and gentlemen; to array all his subjects capable of

A. D. 1480.
Breach of
the truce
between
England
and Scot-
land.

(46) Ferrer. fol. 392.

(47) Rym. Fœd. tom. 12. p. 23. 41. 53. Stow, p. 432.

(48) Rym. Fœd. tom. 12. p. 185.

A. D. 1480. bearing arms in the northern counties, to defend the kingdom against the Scots (49).

Stratagem. King James, either infligated by the king of France and his own confidents, or forced to it by preparations in England, prepared for war. The incursions of the English roused the national animosity of the Scots, who crowded to his standard; and he soon found himself at the head of a gallant army, with which he marched towards the borders, before the duke of Gloucester was ready to oppose him. But his progress was stopped by a stratagem. A messenger, or rather one who pretended to be a messenger, from the pope's legate in England, met him, and in the pope's name enjoined him to lay down his arms, that all Christian princes might unite their forces against the common enemy, the Turks. James, naturally disinclined to war, and believing that a similar injunction (as he was told) had been laid on the king of England, disbanded his army (50). Towards the end of this year, the English army, commanded by the duke of Gloucester, made an unsuccessful attempt on the town and castle of Berwick (51).

A. D. 1481. **Preparations of Edward.** A concise account hath been already given of the transactions between the two British nations in this and the two succeeding years; but in this place it will be proper to be a little more particular (52). Edward, determined to make an attempt against Scotland by sea, granted commissions, February 15, to certain masters of ships, to press as many sailors as would be sufficient to man a fleet of eleven sail against his faithless and ancient enemy the king of Scots (53). He gave a similar commission, March 2, to nine gentlemen, to provide artillery, ammunition, and arms of all kinds, to be carried into the north, for the use of an army, to resist an expected invasion from Scotland (54). That nothing might divert the attention of his subjects from the business of the war, he shut up the courts of justice till Michaelmas (55). He also appointed commissioners to negotiate a treaty

(49) Rym. Fœd. tom. 12. p. 117.

(50) Abercromby, vol. 2. p. 434. Black Acre, fol. 63.

(51) Ibid.

(52) See p. 167—169.

(53) Rym. Fœd. tom. 12. p. 139.

(54) Id. ibid. p. 140.

(55) Id. ibid. p. 141.

with his most dear cousins, the lord of the Isles and Donald Gorne; and, in a word, neglected nothing to render himself formidable to his enemies (56). A. D. 1481.

King James was no less active in his preparations. Parliament.
He called a parliament, which met at Edinburgh April 2, and formed the most spirited resolutions for a vigorous prosecution of the war. They declared their own and their sovereign's pacific dispositions and willingness to keep the truce, which had been intimated to the king of England by a herald and purveyor, who had been detained long, and sent back contemptuously without any answer. They expressed the strongest resentment against the reifer (robber) Edward, who prompted by avarice and ambition, had determined, if he could, to make a conquest of the kingdom, and solemnly promised to defend their king's person and family with their lives and fortunes, as their ancestors had often done. The king, on his part, considering the sincere affection and hearty love of his subjects, promised to govern according to law, and by the advice of his parliament, which appointed ambassadors to be sent by the king and the three estates to the king of France, to solicit his assistance. They commanded all the lieges to be armed and frequently exercised, and to join the royal standard within eight days after they were charged: they bestowed the highest praises on the king, for having repaired the fortifications of Berwick, and furnished it with a garrison of 500 men, at his own expence; and, in consideration of this, the three estates engaged to raise and pay 500 men to defend the other castles on the borders: they commanded all the lords to fortify their own castles, and furnish them with artillery, ammunition, and men: they made many excellent regulations for procuring and conveying intelligence; and still further, to show their loyalty, they ordered a proclamation to be published, offering the reward of a freehold estate of 100 marks a-year, and 1000 marks in money, to any man who should kill, or bring to the king, the exiled earl of Douglas, and smaller rewards for his accomplices (57). It is very

(56) Id. *ibid.*

(57) See Black Acts, fol. 65—68.

A. D. 1481. remarkable, that Archibald earl of Angus was present in this affectionate and loyal parliament, and was sworn in, April 11, warden of the east marches, a place of the greatest trust and honour (58). This discovers the deep dissimulation of that great earl, who was a most inveterate enemy to the unhappy king, as soon after appeared.

Military
operations.

Though great armies were raised in both kingdoms this year, and marched towards the borders, they stood on the defensive, and did not come to any decisive action. The English fleet, with troops on board, failed up the frith of Forth; and the troops attempting to land in several places, were repulsed. At length they burnt the village of Blackness, carried off a few merchant ships, and then returned to their own coasts (59).

A. D. 1482.
Treaties.

Alexander duke of Albany, finding it impossible to persuade the king of France to assist him in making war against his brother and his native country, privately left his family, and came over to the court of England in the spring of this year (60). Soon after his arrival, he entered into such engagements with king Edward as discover him to have been a man void of every principle of honour, and capable of the most criminal and atrocious enterprises. By a charter, dated at Fotheringay, June 10 (in which he styled himself Alexander king of Scotland, with as little ceremony as if his brother king James and all his children had been dead), he engaged—to swear fealty to king Edward for the kingdom of Scotland, within six months after he had got possession of the greater part of that kingdom—to dissolve all the confederacies between Scotland and France—and to surrender the town and castle of Berwick (61). The day after he entered into still more base and infamous engagements. In a charter, dated June 11, he had the meanness to style himself, “King of Scotland, by the gift of the king of England,” and engaged to give up Annandale, Lid-disdale, Elkdale, and Ewisdale, with the castle of Lochmaben. Nay, though he had a connection with a daughter of the earl of Orkney, which the lady and her family

(58) Records of Parliament, 1481, Register-office, Edinburgh.

(59) Farrer, fol. 394.

(60) Rym. Fœd. tom. 12. p. 154.

(61) Rym. Fœd. tom. 12. p. 156.

esteemed a lawful marriage, and though he was solemnly A. D. 1482. married to a daughter of the earl of Boulogne, and had a son by each of these ladies; yet he now engaged to marry the princess Cecilia, king Edward's youngest daughter (who had been contracted to James prince of Scotland), if he could get clear of other women (62). In a word, nothing could be more dishonourable than the designs of the duke of Albany at this time; and yet that duke is represented by the generality of our historians, and was then believed by the great body of the people, to be an innocent, oppressed patriot, and his brother king James a most cruel, unprovoked tyrant.

As soon as Edward had concluded these treaties with Berwick in- the duke of Albany, he appointed, June 12, his brother vested. the duke of Gloucester his lieutenant-General, to command the army against Scotland (63). That army, consisting of 22,500 chosen men, rendezvoused at Alnwick; and marching from thence under the command of the dukes of Gloucester and Albany, the earl of Northumberland, and several other noblemen, invested the town and castle of Berwick about the beginning of July (64).

King James, having raised an army to oppose this formidable invasion, directed his march towards the borders; and about the end of June encamped at the town of Lauder. At that place a cruel and unexpected tragedy was acted, which threatened the ruin of the king and kingdom. Archibald Douglas, earl of Angus, was at that time the most powerful nobleman in Scotland, having obtained from the crown many of the estates of the exiled earl of Douglas. He was married to a daughter of the late regent Robert lord Boyde; and though he was not involved in the ruin of the Boydes, he secretly resented the severity with which they had been treated, and was deeply engaged in the treasonable schemes of the duke of Albany. This potent earl had a private meeting in the night with the noblemen and gentlemen of his party, in the church of Lauder, to consult about the destruction of the royal favourites, as the most effectual means of distressing the king and defeating the present expedition. At this meeting one of the members repeated

The king's
favourites
hanged.

(62) *Id. Ibid.*

(63) *Rym. Fæd. tom. 12. p. 156.*

(64) *Stow, p. 432.*

A. D. 1482. the following fable: "The mice," said he, "held
 " a meeting, to consult about the best means of preserv-
 " ing themselves from the cats. One mouse proposed to
 " hang a bell about the cat's neck; that, by its ringing
 " when the cat moved, they might have warning of their
 " danger. But when it was asked, Who will bell the
 " cat? none of them had so much courage." The earl
 of Angus taking the hint, cried out—I will bell the cat;
 which procured him the nick-name of *Archibald Bell-the-
 cat* ever after. Having formed their plan, they left the
 church; and, attended by a body of armed men, entered
 the royal tent early in the morning, and there seized six
 of the king's most favoured confidants, viz. Robert
 Cochran an architect, master of the works, sir William
 Rogers a musician, Thomas Preston, James Hommel,
 William Torfesfan, and one Leonard. John Ramsay of
 Balmain, a young gentleman of a good family, was
 saved, by clasping the king in his arms. After upbraiding
 the king in very severe terms, for spending his time
 in such unworthy company, they carried off the six un-
 happy victims, and hanged them over the bridge of
 Lauder. The king, struck with consternation at this
 cruel outrage, retired, with his uncle the earl of Athol,
 and some other noblemen, to the castle of Edinburgh, or
 (as some historians report) was carried thither, and guard-
 ed as a prisoner. The army disbanded in great confusi-
 on, every chieftain conducting his followers wherever
 he pleased (65).

Progress of
 the English
 arms. The garrison in the town of Berwick, having proba-
 bly heard of what had happened at Lauder, surrendered
 that place to the English army; but the lord Hailes, who
 commanded in the castle, made a brave defence. The
 dukes of Gloucester and Albany, not thinking it prudent
 to spend their time before that fortress, left four thousand
 men to block it up, and marched northward with the
 rest of their army. They met with no enemy by the way,
 and took possession of the city of Edinburgh without any
 opposition (66).

(65) Ferrer. f. 395. Buchan. lib. 12. p. 234. Hawthornden, p. 50.
 Goddard, p. 223, &c. Abercromby, vol. 2. p. 446.

(66) Abercromby, vol. 2. p. 450.

It is hardly possible to conceive any country in a more deplorable condition than Scotland was at this time. ^{A. D. 1482.}
 The king was shut up in the castle of Edinburgh, and the queen and prince in the castle of Stirling; the nobility were divided into factions, and the enemy in possession of the capital: but it was saved by the wisdom and fortitude of a few real patriots. William archbishop of St. Andrew's, James bishop of Dunkeld, Andrew lord Evandale, chancellor, and Colin earl of Argyle, who had formed a small army of their followers near Haddington, sent proposals for an accommodation to the dukes of Gloucester and Albany, which were favourably received, and an accommodation was concluded at Edinburgh August 2, on the following conditions:—1. The above prelates and noblemen engage, that if the duke of Albany shall behave as a loyal subject to his brother James king of Scotland, he should enjoy perfect freedom and safety in that kingdom. 2. That they would prevail upon the king to restore him to all his honours, offices, and estates. 3. That they would procure a pardon for him and all his followers (except such as were excepted by the last parliament), for all crimes, and particularly for his aspiring to the throne when he was in England. 4. That they would procure the ratification of all this by the king in the next parliament (67). By the third article in the above agreement it plainly appears, that some of the treasonable transactions of the duke of Albany in England, particularly his intended usurpation of the throne, had come to the knowledge of king James and his ministers. What induced the dukes of Gloucester and Albany to make this agreement, and drop the prosecution of their schemes of conquest, it is difficult to discover, but it will soon appear that they had still these schemes in view.

Soon after this pacification, the duke of Gloucester returned with his army into England, and the duke of Albany joined his countrymen. Having visited the queen and prince at Stirling, he came back to Edinburgh, where a very curious piece of political mummery was exhibited. The duke, assisted by the provost, bailies, and some of the citizens, made an attack upon the cas- ^{Greatness of the duke of Albany.}

(67) Rym. Fœd. tom. 12. p. 160.

A. D. 1482. He, took it by assault, and set the king at liberty, without one drop of blood being spilt on either side. The king received his brother with the strongest expressions of gratitude for his deliverance; and the duke made the warmest professions of inviolable love and loyalty to the king. To convince the people that the reconciliation between the royal brothers was perfectly sincere and cordial, they rode on one horse from the castle to Holyrood-house, amidst the acclamations of the deluded multitude (68). This farce (for it deserves no better name) was carried still further. The duke of Albany was constituted lieutenant-general of the kingdom, lord high admiral, and warden both of the east and west marches, by which the whole power of the crown was put into his hands. Besides all this, the king made him a grant of the earldoms of Mar and Garioch, which, with his great estates of Albany, March, Annandale, and the Isle of Man, made him as opulent as he was powerful. In the preamble of that grant, the king loads the duke with the highest praises for his fidelity, loyalty, fraternal affection, faithful services, &c.; though he perfectly well knew that he had come with an English army to dethrone himself and disinherit his posterity (69). A few days after (November 16), the king gave a charter to the provost, bailies, and community of Edinburgh, called the *golden charter*, containing various gifts and privileges, which they had merited by their loyalty and important services (70).

A. D. 1483. The seeming reconciliation of the royal brothers, and the prosperity of the duke of Albany, were of short duration. That turbulent ambitious duke, fearing, or pretending to fear, some machinations against his life, retired from court about the beginning of this year, and

(68) *Piscotrie*, p. 82.

(69) Nos alta mente considerans fidelem, legalitatem, amorem, benevolentiam, fraternam caritatem, pietatem, cordiale servitium, et virtutis obsequium, quod frater noster carissimus Alexander Albanie dux, comes Marchie, dominus vallis Annadie et Mannie, generalis locum tenens, magnus regni nostri admiralis, ac guardianus orientalium et occidentalium marchiarum ejusdem ventus Angliam, nobis jamdudum provide præstitit, nostram de carceribus ex castris nostris de Edinburgh liberando periti nam, &c. Ex Regist. Magni Sigilli Jacobi III. Edinburgh.

(70) Ex. Regist. Magni Sigilli Jacobi III. Edinburgh.

shut himself up in his strong castle of Dunbar, and re-A.D. 1483.
 newed his treasonable correspondence with the court of
 England. He gave a commission, January 12, to three
 of his most zealous partisans, and bitterest enemies of
 the king his brother, Archibald Bell-the-cat, earl of
 Angus, Andrew lord Gray, and Sir James Liddale of
 Halkerstone, to renew the treaty of Fotheringay with
 Edward IV. who appointed, February 9, Henry earl of
 Northumberland, John lord Scroope, and Sir William
 Parre, to treat with them. These commissioners met at
 Westminster, and concluded a treaty, February 11, that
 fixes an indelible stain of infamy on the character of the
 duke of Albany, and of all who promoted his base
 designs. By that treaty it is stipulated,—1. That
 there shall be entire love and friendship between king Ed-
 ward and the duke of Albany; and that they shall assist
 each other, with all their power, against all men:
 2. That there shall be a truce between the subjects of the
 king of England and the favourers of the duke of Albany,
 who shall give one list of their names, and another of the
 names of those who were not his friends, that the last
 might not have the benefit of the truce: 3. That
 the dukes of Gloucester and Albany, the earls of
 Northumberland and Angus, shall be judges of all
 violations of this truce: 4. That during the truce,
 the duke of Albany shall exert all his power to ac-
 quire the crown of Scotland to himself, that he and
 the nobles of his party may do mighty service to the
 king of England against the king of France: 5. That
 king Edward shall assist the duke with competent forces
 in acquiring the crown; and that the duke shall never
 make peace with his brother James, or any of his off-
 spring: 6. The three ambassadors engage for themselves,
 on their honour and knighthood, that if the duke of
 Albany shall decease without issue, they, and all
 whom they can influence, shall become subjects of the
 king of England, and shall keep their castles from James,
 now king of Scots, and his successors: 7. That the duke
 of Albany, within forty days after he obtains the crown,
 shall dissolve all the leagues between his kingdom and
 France: 8. That the duke, when he becomes king,
 shall declare himself, his heirs, his nobles, and all his
 subjects, to be for the king of England, to serve him
 with

A. D. 1483. with all their forces, at their own cost, as often as required, against all princes, particularly against the king of France : 9. That the duke and his heirs shall never claim the town of Berwick : 10. That the duke, when king, shall restore the earl of Douglas to his lands, according to an agreement between that earl and the earl of Angus ; 11. That the duke, being king, shall marry one of the king of England's daughters, without a fortune. Could any thing be more unnatural and infamous than this treaty on the part of the duke of Albany and his ambassadors ? How much was king James to be pitied, who had such a brother and such subjects (71) ! And yet (so much are the characters of princes and great men sometimes mistaken by their contemporaries, and misrepresented to posterity) the duke and his confederates were believed by a great body of the people to be the champions of the honour and independency of their country, and have been celebrated as such by some of our historians (72).

**Death of
queen Mar-
garet.**

The effects of this treaty were prevented, by the death of the king of England, in less than two months after it was concluded. King James, about the same time, lost his amiable and virtuous consort, queen Margaret of Denmark, who died at Stirling, and was buried in the abbey of Cambuskenneth, near that town.

Parliament.

King James, having discovered the treasonable correspondence of the duke of Albany with the court of England, caused him and Sir James Liddale of Halkerton to be summoned to appear before a parliament that was to meet at Edinburgh, June 27, A. D. 1483, to answer to a charge of high treason. They both made their escape into England ; and the duke, before his departure, delivered his castle of Dunbar to an English garrison from Berwick. Their trials came on in parliament, July 8, when they were found guilty of high treason (in their absence, but on the clearest evidence), condemned to death, and all their honours, offices, lands, and goods, forfeited. But what is most remarkable, both the earl of Angus and the lord Gray, (who with Sir James Lid-

(71) Rym. Ford. tom. 12. p. 173—175.

(72) Buchan. lib. 12. p. 233. Palsgrave. p. 85. Godfreyst, p. 227, 228.

dale, had made the above treasonable treaty with Edward IV.), sat as judges at these trials; and were even appointed members of a committee to inquire of what lands and goods the two condemned traitors were possessed (73). Whether Angus and Gray had so effectually concealed their treasons as to escape suspicion; or their great power and that of their friends protected them; or the king, by this extraordinary lenity, hoped to gain them, it is impossible for us, at this distance of time, to discover. But certainly nothing ever exceeded the effrontery of these two lords, in sitting in judgment on their accomplices, with whom they knew they were equally guilty.

William lord Crichton, a zealous partisan of the duke of Albany, fortified his castle of Crichton, and refused to surrender it to the king; but finding that it was not tenable, he fled into England. In the next session of parliament that met at Edinburgh, February 24, A. D. 1484, lord Crichton was found guilty of high treason; and the earl of Angus and lord Gray, still wearing the mask of loyalty, sat as judges at his trial (74). At the earnest request of parliament, the king promised to give no remission to any person convicted of treason, for two years to come: a promise which the too great tenderness of his heart did not permit him to keep (75). The parliament further advised the king to a strict observation of the truce that had been made with England, to take great pains to reconcile his nobility to each other, and to besiege the castle of Dunbar in the beginning of May (76). But this last advice was either not complied with, or the attempt was unsuccessful.

When the duke of Albany arrived in England, he found every thing in confusion; and his great friend the duke of Gloucester, who had usurped that throne, in no condition to assist him to usurp another. But being inflamed by ambition and incapable of repose, he determined, with the aid of the long-exiled earl of Douglas, to try his fortune in the field. Having collected a body of about 500 horsemen, chiefly composed of the robbers

(73) Records of Parliament in the Register-office, Edinburgh.

(74) Records of Parliament in the Register-office, Edinburgh.

(75) Ibid. Black Acts, f. 70.

(76) Ibid.

A.D. 1484. and plunderers in the English borders, the duke and earl entered Annandale, and approached the town of Lochmaben, June 22, being the day of a great fair. The people at this fair, having their arms (according to the custom of the borders in those times) to protect their goods, the lairds of Johnstone, Cockpool, and other gentlemen, put themselves at their head, and opposed the invaders. A fierce conflict ensued, which continued several hours, with various success. At length the English were put to flight; the duke of Albany escaped by the swiftness of his horse; but the earl of Douglas was taken by Alexander Kirkpatrick, and carried prisoner to Edinburgh. Nothing can place the merciful disposition of king James in a fairer point of view than his treatment of this hoary traitor, who had been the author of so many troubles to his country. Instead of commanding him to be executed on his former sentence, or bringing him to trial for his recent treasons, he only confined him to the abbey of Lindores (77). How inexcusable are those historians who have represented this prince as a cruel, implacable tyrant, who never forgave an injury (78).

Death of Albany. Soon after his repulse at Lochmaben, the duke of Albany left England, and went to the court of France, where he received a wound in a tournament, of which he died (79). This turbulent, ambitious prince, who had formed so many conspiracies against his too indulgent brother, left two sons, Alexander bishop of Moray, and John duke of Albany, who became regent of Scotland in the minority of James V (80).

Truce, &c. The captivity of the earl of Douglas, and the death of the duke of Albany, broke all the measures of the earl of Angus and his partisans, and obliged them to remain quiet for some time. They were under the greater necessity of doing this, that a three-years truce with England was concluded at Nottingham, September 21, A. D. 1484; and at the same place, on the same day, a contract of marriage was signed by the plenipotentiaries of both kings, between James prince of Scotland and Ann de la Pole, daughter to the duke of Suffolk, and niece to

(77) Buchan, lib. 12. p. 236.

(78) Ibid.

(79) Ferriar. f. 397.

(80) Crawford's Peerage, p. 7, 8.

Richard III. by his sister (81). A congress was appointed to be held at York, on the next feast of the Virgin Mary, to settle all particulars respecting the intended marriage (82). A. D. 1484.

King James laid the treaties of the truce and marriage before his parliament at Edinburgh, May 26, A. D. 1485. A. D. 1485. Parliament. The parliament (in which the earl of Angus was present) approved of both these treaties; and appointed an honourable embassy to be sent to the congress at York, consisting “ of a bishop, an earl, an honourable and wise clerk, a lord of parliament, a knight yat is a baron, and a squair yat is a baroun, and with yame servandis to complete to the nומר of fifti-twa personis, and yat yai sall haif to yr expenses five hundreth pundis Scottis (83).” But the troubles in England, which terminated in the death of Richard III. prevented the meeting of the congress at York. The parliament also appointed an embassy to be sent to the pope, to obtain, amongst other things, his approbation of the dissolution of the priory of Coldingham, and the annexation of its revenues to the chapel royal in Stirling castle, agreeable to the sentence of two cardinals, to whom that matter had been referred (84). This is a sufficient evidence that the parliament approved of that measure; but as it produced very fatal effects, it merits a more particular narration.

Stirling castle, on account of its beautiful situation and delightful prospects, was the favourite residence of James III. in which he built a palace, with an elegant chapel. To procure funds for the support of a dean, prebends, a numerous band of singers, musicians, and other officers, he suppressed, by a regular process, the priory of Coldingham, and endowed his chapel with its revenues. This gave great offence to the Humes (a numerous and powerful clan in the Merse), who had been Disaffection of the Humes and Hepburns.

(81) Rym. Fœd. tom. 12 p. 236—246.

(82) Id. ibid.

(83) Records of Parliament. The publication called the Black Acts is not a faithful transcript from the records. The above transaction, for example, and many others, are ascribed to a parliament that met February 24, A. D. 1484.

(84) Records of Parliament.

A. D. 1485. accustomed to receive profitable leases and other advantages from the priors, who were generally of their name; and they having entered into a bond of mutual assistance with the Hepburns, both became exceedingly turbulent and disaffected to the king, and brought a great accession of strength to his secret enemies (85).

Castle of Dunbar re-covered. The castle of Dunbar was still in the hands of the English; but being besieged in the summer of this year, it was taken without much difficulty, the garrison despairing of receiving any succours (86).

A. D. 1486. Henry VII. soon after his accession, began to cultivate the friendship of the king of Scotland; and a truce for three years, from July 3, A. D. 1486, was concluded by the plenipotentiaries of both kings, after a negotiation of several days, in the months of June and July (87). From this truce it appears, that Archibald earl of Angus still enjoyed the favour and confidence of his sovereign, as he was appointed warden of the east and middle marches, and one of the conservators of the truce (88). It is also remarkable, that John Ramsey of Balmain, lately created lord Bothwell, was one of the negociators of this truce; which is the first time we meet with any of king James's favourites (about whom there had been so much noise) employed in any important or national transaction. This treaty was ratified by king James at Edinburgh, October 24, A. D. 1486 (89).

A. D. 1487. Several insurrections in England, and the affair of Treaty. Lambert Simnel, having convinced Henry VII. that he had many enemies both at home and abroad, he became very desirous of a more secure peace with the kingdom, and a more intimate connection with the royal family, of Scotland. With this view he sent Richard bishop of Exeter, and Richard Edgecombe, comptroller of his household, ambassadors to Edinburgh, to negotiate these affairs; and king James appointed William bishop of Aberdeen, and John lord Bothwell, to treat with them. These plenipotentiaries having agreed upon certain preliminaries for a truce and intended intermarriages, one

(85) Pitcottie, p. 86. Hawthornden, p. 108.

(86) Abercromby, vol. 2. p. 468.

(87) Rym. Fœd. tom. 12. p. 285—292.

(88) Id. ibid.

(89) Id. ibid. p. 316.

copy of them was signed by Carlisle herald, commissioned A. D. 1487.
 by the king of England, and delivered at Edinburgh,
 November 17, to Snowdon herald, who, by virtue of a
 commission from the king of Scotland, signed and de-
 livered another copy to Carlisle herald at the same time.
 By these preliminaries,—the truce was prolonged—a mar-
 riage was proposed between James marquis of Ormond,
 king James's second son, and the third daughter of the
 late king Edward IV.; another between king James and
 queen Elizabeth, Edward's widow, and a third between
 James prince of Scotland, and such another daughter of
 king Edward as should be agreed upon by the two kings.
 As the king of Scotland insisted on the delivery of Ber-
 wick to him, that matter was to be finally settled before
 any of these marriages took effect. To bring these im-
 portant affairs nearer a conclusion, another meeting of the
 plenipotentiaries was appointed to be held at Edin-
 burgh, January 24, A. D. 1488, and a second in the
 month of May, at a place to be agreed upon; and
 that the two kings should have a personal interview in
 July (90).

King James called a parliament that met at Edin-^{Parliament.}
 burgh, October 1, A. D. 1487; and both the earl of
 Angus and his eldest son were present. The parliament
 made an affecting representation to the king of the de-
 plorable distress and disorder of the kingdom, "throw
 "tresoun, slauchter, reis, birning, theft, and oppin
 "heirschip, throw default of scharpe execution of jus-
 "tice, and over commoun granting of grace and re-
 "missiounis to trespassouris." The king, at the earnest
 request of the three estates, promised to give no remission
 to any person who was guilty of any of the above crimes
 for seven years. This promise gave great satisfaction,
 which is expressed in the following strong terms:—
 "Bacause our soverane lord has so graciously applyit
 "him to the counsell of his thre estatiss at this tyme in
 "all thingis concerning thame; and the commoun prof-
 "feit of the realme, and beninglie grantit to thaim all
 "thair desyre and requeistis that thay have maid to his

(90) Rym. Fœd. tom. 12. p. 328—332.

A. D. 1487. “ majestie; all the lordis spiritual and temporal, baronis, frelhalders, and communities of the estatiss of the realme hes freelic grantit, that ever ilk ane of thame for himself, fall faithfully promit and sweir, that they fall not in tyme to cume maintein, fortifie, supplie, defend, nor be advocatis, nor stand at the bar, with manifest tratouris, nor commoun men slayares, theissis, reissaris, nor other tretpassouris.” The parliament, in this session, made many excellent regulations for preventing the crimes above mentioned, and for bringing those who were guilty of them to justice. In particular, they made it high treason, “ to do or attempt to do contrare the union and annexatioun maid of the pryorie of Coldinghame to the king’s chapel royal (91).”

A. D. 1488. The second session of this parliament began at Edinburgh, January 29, A. D. 1488; and from the records, it seems to have been animated by the same spirit of loyalty, and entire satisfaction with the king and his administration, as the former. The three estates approved of the preliminary treaty respecting the proposed marriages between the two royal families, and appointed plenipotentiaries to attend the meeting that was to be in May about that matter, and gave them express instructions, not to consent to a peace, or to any of the marriages, unless the king of England agreed to restore, or at least to destroy, the town and castle of Berwick. The king, in full parliament, created his second son duke of Rois, and the barons Drummond, Yester, Sanquhar, and Ruthven, lords of parliament. The last act of this session is remarkable. The Humes and Hepburns had paid no regard to the late act, declaring it high treason to obstruct the annexation of Coldinghame to the chapel royal, but had opposed that measure with the greatest violence. The parliament therefore appointed a committee, with parliamentary powers, to try all who had violated that act; and the earl of Angus, with the chief men of his party, were members of that committee (92). So artfully had they concealed their treasonable machinations, that the king, at this time, believed them to be his best friends. The parliament was then adjourned to the

(91) Records of Parliament. Black Acts, f. 75—78.

(92) Records of Parliament.

5th of May; but it was dissolved by proclamation, Fe- A. D. 1488.
bruary 21, and a new parliament was summoned to meet,
May 12, at Edinburgh (93). The troubles that soon
after arose prevented the meeting of that parliament.

The earl of Angus and his partisans were greatly *Conspiracy.*
alarmed at the intended intermarriages between the two
royal families. Conscious of their own guilt, suspect-
ing, or perhaps knowing, that queen Elizabeth was not
ignorant of it, they justly dreaded that she would com-
municate the knowledge of their treasonable intrigues
with her late husband to her future spouse, and perhaps
produce the original treaty of Westminster, A. D. 1483,
which would render their guilt evident, and their ruin
certain (94). They determined, therefore, to prevent
the intended marriages at any rate, and to dethrone or
even destroy their sovereign, as the only means of pre-
venting their own destruction. They began by spreading
the most odious calumnies against the king, representing
him as a blood-thirsty tyrant, because he was then en-
deavouring to execute the laws against traitors, murder-
ers, thieves, and plunderers, according to his promise;
as an enemy to all his ancient nobility, because he had
raised John Ramsay of Balmain, an old and faithful ser-
vant, to be a lord and master of the household. The
earl of Angus gave out, that the king had formed a plot
to destroy many of the nobility at the last meeting of Par-
liament; had communicated the design to him, and de-
sired his assistance; than which nothing can be more im-
probable (95). These, and other calumnies, poisoned
the minds of the common people, and made too great an
impression on some persons of rank. Andrew lord Gray,
the chief associate of Angus in the affair of Lauder, and
all his other treasons, engaged with great ardour in this
conspiracy; and John lord Drummond, though advanced
to the peerage only a few weeks before, acted the same
part. Sir Alexander Hume, afterwards created lord
Hume, Patrick Hepburn lord Hailes, with all the gen-
tlemen of the names of Hume and Hepburn, being al-
ready obnoxious to the law, entered warmly into the de-
sign of dethroning the king, to prevent their own con-

(93) Records of Parliament.

(94) See p. 276—278.

(95) Buchan. l. 12. p. 237. Godscroft, p. 228.

A.D. 1488. demnation. All the borderers, the most warlike people in the kingdom, dreading the execution of the late laws against murder, theft, and robbery; and in a word, all vagabonds and outlaws, who feared the punishment they knew they deserved, joined in this conspiracy, and added greatly to its strength. The earl of Argyle, the bishop of Glasgow, and the lord Lyle, also joined this party. The earl of Argyle had lately been deprived of the chancellor's office; the bishop of Glasgow had a contest with the archbishop of St. Andrew's, and the lord Lyle was at variance with James earl of Buchan, the king's uncle, which might have some influence on their conduct on this occasion (96).

Rebellion. King James, perceiving the impending storm, endeavoured to guard against it, by furnishing the castles of Stirling and Edinburgh with every thing necessary for their defence. Having committed the custody of the former, and of his three sons, to James Schaw of Sauchie, in whose fidelity he placed the most perfect confidence, he embarked at Leith with a small retinue, and landed in Fife. The conspirators now broke out into open rebellion, seized part of the king's baggage, and some boxes of his money at Leith, and took the castle of Dunbar by surprise, in which they found money, arms, and ammunition (97).

The king retires into the north.

The king proceeded northward, by Aberdeen, to Inverness, issuing proclamations to all his subjects in those parts to join his standard on a certain day. These proclamations were favourably received; the earl of Crawford, who had been lately created duke of Montrose, the earls of Huntly, Errol, Athol, Rothes, Sutherland, Caithness, and Marischal, with the lords Forbes, Ogilvie, Fraser, and all the chieftains of the north (except the lords Gray and Drummond), applied themselves to raise their followers to support their sovereign (98). At Inverness, James gave a fresh proof of his merciful and forgiving disposition, by pardoning the lord Crichton (who there threw himself at his feet), though he had been one of his most inveterate enemies (99). But when he was thus

(96) Ferrer. f. 399. Crawford's Peerage, p. 259. 292.

(97) Pittcottie, p. 86, 87. Hawthornden, p. 110.

(98) Ferrer. f. 400.

(99) Hawthornden, p. 111.

employed,

employed, he received intelligence that overwhelmed him A. D. 1488.
with surprise and sorrow.

When the conspirators assembled their forces, they found themselves strong and well appointed, but without any person they could propose to substitute in the place of the prince they intended to dethrone; and without this they knew they could hardly hope for success. Having cast their eyes on the king's eldest son, as in all respects fittest for their purpose, they found means to open a correspondence with the governor of Stirling castle, and by great bribes and greater promises, prevailed upon him to betray his important trust, and deliver the prince into their hands at Linlithgow (100). As the prince was only about fifteen years of age at this time, it would not be difficult to deceive him by specious arguments, particularly by threatening (as we are told they did), that if he did not join them, they would subject the kingdom to the English (101).

As soon as the king received the news of this unhappy and unexpected event, he returned to the south with such troops as had joined him, directing the chieftains in those parts to follow him. Being waisted with his army over the Forth by the famous sir Andrew Wood of Largo, he encamped at Blackness, within a few miles of Linlithgow, the head-quarters of the insurgents. There he was joined by the earl of Glencairn, the lords Erskine, Maxwell, Ruthven, sir Thomas Semple, and sir Alexander Boyde, with their followers, which rendered his army superior to that of his enemies. But James, naturally timid and averse to war, entered into a negotiation with the adverse party; and having given a commission to the bishop of Aberdeen, the earls of Huntly and Marischal, the lords Glamis and Alexander Lindsay, to treat with the bishop of Glasgow, the earls of Angus and Argyle, the lords Hailes and Lysle; these commissioners concluded a pacification, at Blackness, about the middle of May A. D. 1488, on the following terms: 1. the king shall be supported in his estate, honour, and royal authority, that he may administer justice impartially to all his subjects: 2. The king's most noble person shall be at

(100) Pittscottie, p. 87, 88. Hawthornden. p. 111. Buchan. p. 236.

(101) Buchan. p. 236.

A. D. 1488. all times, in honour, security, and freedom, attended by prelates, earls, lords, and barons, of the greatest wisdom, and most agreeable to him and his subjects of all parties : 3. All persons now about the prince, who have offended the king, shall make such amends as the above commissioners shall determine, saving their honours, estates, and lives : 4. The king shall allow an honourable appointment to the prince his son, to be settled by the said commissioners : 5. That lords and honourable persons of wisdom, and virtuous dispositions, shall be constantly about the prince in his tender age : 6. The prince shall at all times love, honour, and obey his father : 7. The lords, and others about the prince, shall enjoy the king's favour and grace : 8. The prince shall take into his hearty love and favour, all the lords and others, who have served the king in these times of trouble : 9. The commissioners shall endeavour to remove all personal and family feuds between the lords of the different parties, particularly that between the earl of Buchan and the lord Lyle (102).

Negotiations with Henry VII.

This wise and equitable treaty did not produce the happy effects that might have been expected. As several important matters still remained to be settled by the commissioners, both parties, full of mutual distrust, stood on their guard, and retained their forces. They both turned their eyes towards England, the one expecting aid, and the other dreading opposition from that quarter. Henry VII appointed commissioners, May 5, to treat with those of his most dear brother James king of Scotland ; and about the same time he granted a safe conduct to Robert bishop of Glasgow, George bishop of Dunkeld, Colin earl of Argyle, Patrick lord Hailes, Robert lord Lyle, Matthew Stewart master of Darnly, and Alexander master of Hume, who were all of the prince's party, to come into England (103). But no use, it is probable, was made of that safe conduct.

The king's march to Stirling.

In the mean time, king James resided in the castle of Edinburgh ; and if he had remained quiet in that place till the commissioners had settled all the points referred to

(102) Records of parliament. See this treaty at full length, Append. No. 3. in this volume.

(103) Rym. Fœd. tom. 12. p. 340, 341.

them by the treaty of Blacknefs, and the ambaffadors expected from the courts of England, France, and Rome, had arrived, all might have ended well. But either his own inclination, or the advice of his friends, induced him to march to Stirling, as a more agreeable refidence, and more convenient for forming a junction with his loyal fubjects in the north; and he met with no interruption in his march, though the two armies muft have been very near to one another.

This imprudent meafure was difapproved, it is faid, by many of his beft friends, and gave a great alarm to the adverfe party, who confidered it as a breach of the pacification of Blacknefs (104). The king, with his army, took poffeffion of the town of Stirling; but he was refufed admittance into the caftle: and while he was expoftulating with the governor on that fubject, intelligence arrived that the prince's army was advancing to attack him. There was little time for deliberation, and it was rafhly refolved to fight. The two armies met and engaged, June 11, A. D. 1488, in the fields between the village of Bannockburn and Torwood. The conflict was fierce; but the borderers (of whom the prince's army chiefly confifted), being better armed, and more ufed to arms than their enemies, foon threw the royal army into confufion. The king endeavoured to fave himfelf by flight; but riding down a fteep road in the village of Bannockburn, he fell from his horfe, and was carried into a mill, where he was difcovered and flain by fome of the purfuers (105). Thus perifhed this unfortunate prince, in the prime of life, when he had reigned almoft twenty-nine years, and lived thirty-five years and five months. He was buried in the abbey-church of Cambuskenneth, near the remains of his queen; by whom he left three fons, viz. James, who fucceeded him, another James, duke of Rofs, and John earl of Mar.

Few princes have been more calumniated during life, or more mifreprefented after death, than James III. of

(104) Records of Parliament. Black Acts, f. 83.

(105) Records of Parliament. Ferrer. f. 400, 401. Buchan. l. 12. p. 239. Hawthornden, p. 116. Pitfcottie, p. 90.

A. D. 1488. Scotland. I shall therefore endeavour to draw his character as I have written his history, with all the attention and impartiality in my power. Ferrerius, who received his information from those who were familiarly acquainted with him, describes his person in this manner: "In the beauty of his face, in the strength and elegant shape of his body, and symmetry of all his limbs, he far excelled all the princes of his time (106)." In personal valour he was not conspicuous; nor did he either delight or excel in riding, tilting, and other martial exercises; which sunk him in the estimation of his nobility. By some historians, he hath been represented as an implacable unrelenting tyrant, resembling Richard III. in cruelty; than which nothing can be more directly opposite to truth (107); for an excessive facility in forgiving the greatest injuries, and pardoning the greatest crimes, was the most fatal defect in his character, the chief cause of his own calamities, and of all the disorders of his reign. Of this his parliaments frequently complained, and intreated him to abstain from granting pardons with so much ease, and to suffer justice to take its course (108). Though he was harassed by a succession of rebellions, no person of rank was put to death for treason, except Sir Alexander Boyde, when James was still young, and entirely in the power of Sir Alexander's enemies. He is accused, by the same historian, of incontinence, and that of the most criminal kind; but without any proof, and contrary to all probability, as his consort was the most amiable princess in the world; and he was almost the only prince of his name and family who had no natural children (109). He was regular in his attendance on the service of the church; took pleasure in hearing eloquent sermons, at which he always stood bare-headed, and taught his sons to do the same (110). He had a genius for learning, and was a generous encourager of learned men (111). But the most striking feature in the character of this prince, was his fondness for the fine arts, and for those

(106) Ferrer. f. 401.

(107) Buchan. l. 12. p. 235—237.

(108) Records of Parliament. Black Acts, f. 71. 74.

(109) Buchan l. 12. p. 236.

(110) Ferrer. f. 404.

(111) Id. f. 391.

who excelled in them, on whom he bestowed more of ^{A. D. 1488.} his company, confidence, and favour, than became a king in his circumstances. This excited in his fierce and haughty nobles, dislike and contempt of their sovereign, and indignation against the objects of his favour; which produced the most pernicious consequences. In one word, if James III. had flourished in a more polished age and more civilized country, he would have been esteemed, what he really was, a good and amiable, though not a great prince.

THE
HISTORY
OF
GREAT BRITAIN.

BOOK V.

CHAP. II.

History of Religion in GREAT BRITAIN, from the accession of Henry IV. A. D. 1399, to the accession of Henry VII. A. D. 1485.

Cent. XV

THE ecclesiastical transactions of this period that merit the attention of posterity are not many: being, for the most part, of a melancholy nature, they shall be related with as much brevity as is consistent with perspicuity.

Henry
court the
clergy.

Henry IV. conscious of the defect of his title to the throne, earnestly desired to gain the favour and support of the clergy. With this view, he sent the earl of Northumberland to a convocation of the province of Canterbury, met in the chapter-house of St. Paul's, 6th October A. D. 1399, with a message admirably adapted to please the members of that assembly, and attach them to his interest. "I am not come (said the earl), like
" the

“ the commissioners of former kings, to demand your
 “ money, but to assure you, that my royal master never
 “ will demand any money of his clergy, except in cases
 “ of the most extreme necessity. I am come most ear-
 “ nestly to beg the prayers of the church for the king
 “ and kingdom; and to promise, that he will protect
 “ the clergy in all their liberties and immunities; and
 “ that he will assist them with all his power in exter-
 “ minating heretics (1).” The first of these promises was
 soon forgotten; and no king of England ever made such
 frequent demands of money from the clergy as Henry
 IV. after he was firmly established on the throne; but
 the second was too faithfully performed.

Cent. XV.

Archbishop Arundel, who was now restored to his see
 of Canterbury, was a cruel enemy to Wickliffe and his
 followers. When he was archbishop of York, he per-
 secuted them with great severity; but being now placed
 at the head of the church, and supported by all the
 power of the crown, he determined to shew them no
 mercy. That he might be armed with legal powers to
 take vengeance on the devoted Lollards, he and his
 clergy applied to the parliament that met at Westminster
 A. D. 1400, representing, that many persons who had
 no authority from a bishop preached heretical doctrines,
 published heretical books, and taught errors and here-
 sies in the schools; and praying the parliament to pro-
 vide a remedy against these dangerous innovations. In
 compliance with this representation of the clergy, the
 parliament, or rather the king and peers, made a severe
 law against the Lollards, authorising the bishops to im-
 prison all persons suspected of heresy, to try them in
 the spiritual court; and if they proved either obstinate
 or relapsed heretics, the spiritual judge was to call the
 sheriff of the county, or the chief magistrate of the
 town, to be present when the sentence of condemnation
 was pronounced, and immediately to deliver the con-
 demned person to the secular magistrate, who was to
 cause him to be burnt to death, in some elevated place,
 in the sight of all the people (2).

Law against
the Lol-
lards.

(1) Wilkin. Conciliar. tom. 3. p. 238. 239.

(2) Statutes, 2d Hen. IV. ch. 15. Wilkin. Concil. tom. 3. p. 271.

Cent. XV.

Burning of
Sir William
Sawtre.

The archbishop, impatient to put this cruel law in execution, even during the session of parliament that made it, brought Sir William Sawtre, rector of St. Owyth, London, to his trial for heresy, before the convocation of the province of Canterbury, at St. Paul's. The chief heresies of which he was accused were these two, that he refused to worship the cross, and that he denied the doctrine of transubstantiation. The unhappy man, in order to avoid the painful death with which he was threatened, endeavoured to explain away his heresies as much as possible. He consented to pay an inferior vicarious kind of worship to the cross, on account of him who died upon it. But that gave no satisfaction. He acknowledged the real presence of Christ in the sacrament; and that, after the words of consecration were pronounced, the bread became the true spiritual bread of life. He underwent an examination of no less than three hours on that subject, February 19, A. D. 1401; but when the archbishop urged him to profess his belief,—“ That after consecration
“ the substance of the bread and wine no longer re-
“ mained, but was converted into the substance of the
“ body and blood of Christ, which were as really and
“ truly in their proper substance and nature in the sa-
“ crament, as they were in the womb of the Virgin
“ Mary, as they hung upon the cross, as they lay in
“ the grave, and as they now resided in heaven;” he stood aghast, and, after some hesitation, declared,
“ That, whatever might be the consequence, he could
“ neither understand nor believe that doctrine.” On this the archbishop pronounced him an obstinate heretic, degraded him from all the clerical orders with which he had been invested, and delivered him to the mayor and sheriffs of London, with this hypocritical request, that they would use him kindly; though he well knew, that all the kindness they dared to shew him was to burn him to ashes. He was accordingly burnt in Smithfield, and had the honour to be the last person in England who suffered this painful kind of death, for maintaining those doctrines which are now maintained by all the protestant churches (3).

(3) Wilkin. Concil. tom. 3. p. 262. Fox, Acts and Monuments, p. 476, 477.

This cruel public execution of so respectable a clergyman struck terror into all the followers of Wickliffe, and made many of them conceal their opinions to preserve their lives. Others of them, when they were brought to their trial, fainted, wounding their consciences, by pretending to renounce their sentiments; and several years elapsed before any one was found who had fortitude to endure the fiery trial (4). Great multitudes, however, in all parts of England, particularly in London, Oxford, Shrewsbury, Norfolk, and Lincolnshire, still secretly adhered to the opinions of Wickliffe (5).

Cent. XV.
Lollards
dumayed.

Archbishop Arundel was as superstitious as he was cruel. He increased the number of holidays, and appointed additional acts of worship to be paid to the Virgin Mary, to whose patronage he ascribed all the prosperity of the English nation, and particularly the late revolution, which had restored him to his see (6). To do this prelate justice, he attempted to rectify a very great abuse which had long prevailed, of holding fairs and markets in church-yards on Sundays. He prohibited this practice, except in harvest, when it was thought to be necessary (7).

*Arundel
superstitious.

William Thorp, a clergyman of uncommon learning for the age in which he flourished, was a disciple of Wickliffe, and preached the doctrines he had learned from him in many parts of England. He was sometimes imprisoned; but by his own prudence and favourable events, he long escaped any severer sufferings. Being apprehended by the magistrates of Shrewsbury, he was sent to the archbishop of Canterbury; before whom, and three of his most learned clergy, he underwent a very long examination, on the first Sunday of August A. D. 1407; of which he wrote a very distinct account. From this account it appears, that Mr. Thorp was an overmatch for his antagonists at disputation; which made them have recourse to promises and threatenings to shake his constancy. The primate, who was much addicted to prophane swearing, declared, with many oaths,—“ That he would pursue him, and all his sect,

Sufferings
of Mr.
Thorp.

(4) Fox, Acts and Monuments, p. 435.

(6) Wilkin, Concil. tom. 3. p. 246. 252.

(5) Id. ibid.

(7) Id. ibid.

Cent. XV. “ so narrowly, that he would not leave one slip in the
 “ land.” One of the assistant priests told him, that if he did not recant, he should be cursed, degraded, burnt, and damned; and another of them proposed to throw him into the sea. At last the primate adopted a measure, in appearance at least, milder. He committed him to a loathsome prison at Saltwood, the horrors of which had overcome the fortitude of several other Lollards; and in this prison, it is probable, Mr. Thorp died, as no further mention is made of him in history (8).

Attempts
 on the pa-
 trimony of
 the church.

The excessive riches and dissolute manners of many of the clergy, created them many enemies, and produced several attempts against the patrimony of the church. When the king was reduced to great straits in his expedition into Wales, A. D. 1403, some of his barons proposed to seize the money and plate of certain rich prelates who were in the army, to supply his wants. But the primate, who was present, denounced such threats against any who should presume to invade the property of the church, that the proposal was not adopted (9). In a parliament at Coventry, A. D. 1404, when a supply was demanded from the commons, they represented by their speaker to the king, in the house of lords, that the commons were reduced to great poverty by frequent taxes and their personal service, and could not afford any supply; but that the clergy wallowed in wealth; and that it was therefore reasonable to take some of their superfluous riches to supply the necessities of the state. To ward off this blow, the primate fell on his knees before the king, and conjured him to remember his coronation oath, by which he had solemnly sworn to protect the church in all her privileges and immunities. The king desired the archbishop to rise and go to his place, and assured him he would defend the church in all her possessions, and would leave her richer than he found her. The peers adopting the same idea, the commons were not only obliged to relinquish their proposal, but to beg pardon for their presumption (10).

(8) Fox, p. 487—500.

(9) Walsing. Yp-digma Neutricæ, p. 561.

(10) Id. ibid. Hist. Ang. p. 371, 372.

Several laws were made in this reign against the ex-
orbitant exactions of the court of Rome, against the
pope's providing successors to benefices before they be-
came vacant, and against his granting exemptions to
the regular clergy from the payment of tithes (11).
But these laws were not more effectual than former ones
to the same purpose.

The primate held a convention of the prelates and
clergy of his province, at St. Paul's, January 14, A. D.
1409, in which thirteen canons or constitutions were
made. In the preface to these canons, it is declared
to be the most horrid of all crimes, to dispute any of
the doctrines, or disobey any of the decrees, promul-
gated by the pope—"who carried the keys of eternal
life and eternal death; was the vicegerent, not of a
mere man, but of the true God, on earth; and to
whom God had committed the government of the
kingdom of heaven (12)." This was rather strong
language, especially at a time when there were two
popes, who had sent one another to the devil, and were
both declared contumacious heretics by the council of
Pisa that same year (13). The design of archbishop
Arundel's constitutions was, to prevent the increase, and
even to extirpate Lollardry, as the doctrines of Wick-
liffe were then called, by inflicting certain wholesome
severities on those who propagated or professed these
doctrines (14).

An example of this severity was exhibited soon after
the publication of these canons. Thomas Badby, a
taylor, in the diocese of Worcester, was tried and found
guilty of heresy by the bishop of that see, January 2,
A. D. 1410, and sent, with a copy of his trial and sen-
tence, to the primate. The heresy of which Badby was
accused, and for which he was condemned, was this—
"That the sacrament of the body of Christ, consecrated
by the priest on the altar, was not the true body of
Christ, by virtue of the words of the sacrament; but

Cent. XV.
Laws
against the
court of
Rome.

Archbishop
Arundel's
constituti-
ons.

Burning of
Thomas
Badby.

(11) Statutes at Large, item, &c.

(12) Wilkin. Concil. tom. 3. p. 314.

(13) Du Pin, Cent. XV. c. 1.

(14) Wilkin. Concil. tom. 2. p. 314. 319.

Cent. XV. “ that, after the sacramental words spoken by the priest to make the body of Christ, the material bread did remain upon the altar as at the beginning; neither was it turned into the very body of Christ after the sacramental words spoken by the priest (15).” He was also accused of saying that “ no priest was able to make the body of Christ.” On these subjects he was examined by the archbishop, in the presence of nine other bishops, and many of the chief nobility, March 1. The primate pressed him earnestly to renounce his errors, and believe as the church believed; and declared, that if he would do this, “ he would gage his soul for him at the day of judgment.” But Badby still adhering to his opinions, he pronounced him an obstinate heretic, and delivered him to the secular magistrates, “ desiring them very instantly not to put him to death;” though he knew perfectly that they could do nothing else. He was accordingly conducted to Smithfield the same day, in the afternoon, placed in a large tun, surrounded with dry wood, and fastened to a stake with iron chains. Before the fire was kindled, the prince of Wales rode up to the pile, and earnestly intreated him to save himself from a painful death, by renouncing his heresies, promising him a competent annuity for life if he would comply. The poor man, with many expressions of the warmest gratitude to the prince, declared, that he firmly believed his opinions to be true, and that he could not renounce them, even to save his life. The fire being then put to the wood, when he felt the violence of the flames, he cried aloud for mercy. The prince, thinking that the pain he had felt had overcome his fortitude, commanded the flames to be extinguished, and renewed his entreaties to him to recant. But this humble sufferer remaining invincible in his resolution to endure any torment rather than renounce the truth, the fire was kindled, and he was reduced to ashes (16).

Schism in the papacy. As it doth not properly belong to our present subject, so it would be tedious to give a minute detail of all the steps that were taken by the church of England, in con-

(15) Fox, p. 479.


(16) Fox, p. 477—480.

junction with other churches, to put an end to the schism Cent. XV.
 in the papacy, which had now continued about thirty years. It is sufficient to observe, that the two contending popes, Peter de Luna, called Benedict XIII. and Angelus Corarius, called Gregory XII. were deposed by the council of Pisa, June 5, A. D. 1409, as manifest schismatics and heretics, guilty of contumacy and perjury; and on the 19th of the same month, that general council raised Peter Philaret, a Greek, to the papacy, who took the name of Alexander V. and was acknowledged as pope by the church of England (17). But this was so far from putting an end to the schism, that it added one pope more to the number; so that now, and for several years after, there were no fewer than three infallible heads of the church, and keepers of the keys of the kingdom, at once; who gave one another very bad names, which was not the worst proof of their infallibility. Alexander V. died May 3, A. D. 1410, and was succeeded by Balthasar Cossa, a Neapolitan, who assumed the name of John XXIII. But John was deposed, A. D. 1415, by the council of Constance, for heresy, contumacy, perjury, simony, adultery, incest, and a thousand cheats (18). Benedict XIII. (Peter de Luna) was also deposed; and Angelus Corarius (Gregory XII.) having resigned, the chair of St. Peter was considered as empty, and Odon de Colonna, cardinal-deacon of St. George, was placed in it, who took the name of Martin V. But as Benedict XIII. did not submit to the sentence of deposition, and even had a successor named Clement VII. the schism was not fully terminated till A. D. 1429, after it had continued more than half a century, had occasioned great confusion in the Christian world, and put all the princes and states in Europe to incredible expence and trouble.

Archbishop Arundel still continued his efforts to extirpate the opinions of Wickliffe, by persecuting those by whom they were maintained. He was the more exasperated against these opinions, that some of them were hostile to the power and riches of the clergy; and their friends in the house of commons had made repeated attempts on the possessions of the church. In the parlia-

(17) Du Pin. Cent. XV. c. 1.

(18) Id. ibid. c. 2.

Cent. XV.  ment that met at Westminster in the beginning of Lent A. D. 1409, the commons represented to the king, in the house of Peers, "That if he would please to take away the estates of the bishops, abbots, and priors, which they spent in unnecessary pomp and luxury, the crown and kingdom would reap great advantages, as it would enable the king to support 15 earls, 1500 knights, 6200 esquires, and 100 hospitals (19)." But this petition was rejected; and the peers presented a counter petition, praying the king to protect the patrimony of the church, and to punish all such as taught the people that it was lawful to take it away (20).

The primate, in order to suppress the doctrines of Wickliffe in the university of Oxford, where they prevailed more than in any other part of England, set out with a great retinue, A. D. 1411, to visit that university. But when he approached, he was met by the chancellor and proctors, who told him, that if he came only to take a view of their colleges, he should be received and entertained with all the respect due to his high rank; but that if he came as their visitor, he could not be admitted, because they were exempted by several papal bulls from all episcopal visitation. The primate, greatly irritated at this repulse, appealed to the king; who, after hearing both parties, pronounced a definitive sentence, February 9, A. D. 1412, against the university (21).

Doctrines
of Wickliffe
condemned.

The archbishop, being engaged in other affairs, did not execute his intended visitation, but commanded the university to appoint twelve of its most learned and orthodox members to examine the works of Wickliffe, and extract such opinions as appeared to them heretical or erroneous. In compliance with this injunction, the university chose four doctors, four bachelors, and four students in divinity, who examined Wickliffe's works, and extracted no fewer than 267 opinions, which they declared to be partly heretical and partly erroneous, which they transmitted to the primate, who sent them to the pope, with a request to condemn them, and grant him authority to take the body of Wickliffe out of the grave, and throw it on a dunghill, that it might be trampled on

(19) Walsing. p. 379.

(20) Fuller's Church Hist. book 4. p. 161.

(21) Fuller's Church Hist. book 4. p. 164.

by all christians. The pope condemned Wickliffe's doctrines, but refused to grant the primate permission to disturb his ashes (22). Cent. XV.

Though Henry IV. died March 30, A. D. 1413, the power of the primate was not diminished, nor the persecution of the Lollards in the least abated; the clergy having taken great pains to gain the favour of his son and successor Henry V. The archbishop, secure of the support of the crown, now determined to attack sir John Oldcastle, lord Cobham, who was at the head of the party, in order to strike terror into the rest. Soon after the coronation of Henry V. a parliament met at Westminster, and a convocation at St. Paul's. At this convocation a copy of each of Wickliffe's works was publicly burnt, with great solemnity, by the primate, in presence of the nobility, clergy, and people. It happened that one of the books burnt on this occasion had belonged to lord Cobham, who was also accused by the proctors of the clergy as the great encourager of the Lollards, and was therefore summoned to appear before the convocation (23). Lord Cobham attacked.

The primate, upon second thoughts, did not think it proper to proceed any further against a person of such high rank, and so renowned for his valour and virtues, till he had consulted the king, and obtained his permission to proceed. The king desired the primate to delay the prosecution for some time, and promised to converse with lord Cobham, and endeavour to persuade him to renounce his errors. Accordingly he had a private conversation with him, and laboured very earnestly to prevail upon him to return to the faith and obedience of the church. He answered in terms of the highest respect, but spoke with so much freedom of the pope as antichrist, that the king was disgusted, and gave him up to the will of the clergy (24). The primate, having obtained the royal permission, proceeded with great vigour against lord Cobham; who having disregarded three successive summonses, was declared contumacious, and excommunicated. In the mean time he was apprehended, and imprisoned in the tower of London, and brought

The king
converses
with lord
Cobham.

(22) Wilkin. Concil. tom. 3. p. 339—353.

(23) Fox, p. 514. Wilkin. Concilia, p. 353.

(24) Wilkin. Concilia, p. 353.

Cent. XV. from thence before the primate, assisted by several bishops and doctors, September 25. The primate narrated to him all the steps that had been taken in his affair, that he had been declared contumacious, and excommunicated; but that, on desiring it, he was ready to grant him absolution. Lord Cobham taking no notice of this offer, said, he was very willing to give them an account of his religious principles; and, pulling a paper out of his bosom, read it as the confession of his faith, and then delivered it to the archbishop. The following is a copy of that curious paper, that may be supposed to contain the sentiments of the most intelligent Lollards, cautiously expressed, in the language of that age.

“ I John Oldcastell, knyght, lord of Cobham, Wole,
 “ that all Cristyn men wyte and understond, that I
 “ olepe Allmyghty God in to wytnefs, that it hath ben,
 “ now ys, and ever, with the help of God, shall ben
 “ myn intent, and my wyll, to beleve feythfully and
 “ fully all the sacramentis that evyr God ordeyned to be
 “ do in holy churche; and, more over, for to declare
 “ me in these foure peyntes: I beleve, that the most
 “ worshipfull sacrament of the auter is Cristes body in
 “ forme of bred, the same body that was born of the
 “ blyssyd Virgyne our lady seint Marye, don on the
 “ cross, deed and buryed, the thrydde day ros fro deth
 “ to lyf, the wych body is now glorified in hevене.
 “ Also, as for the sacrament of penance, I beleve, that
 “ it is nedfull to every man that shall be saved, to forsake synne, and do due penance for synne biforn doon,
 “ wyth trewe confession, very contrition, and duhe satisfaction, as Goddes law lymiteth and techeth, and
 “ ellys may not be saved. Whych penance I desir all
 “ men to do. And of as ymages I undirstonde, that thei
 “ be not of bileve, but that thei were ordeyned fyth the
 “ bileve was zew of Crist be sufferaunce of the churche,
 “ to be kalenders to lewed men, to represent and brynge
 “ to mynde the passion of our Lord Jhesu Crist, and
 “ martirdom and good lyvying of other seyntis; and that
 “ who so it be that doth the worschipe to dede ymages,
 “ that is duhe to God, or putteth feych hope or trust in
 “ help of them, as he shuld do to God, or hath affeccion in one more than in another, he doth in that the
 “ grete sin of mawmentrie. Also I suppose this fully,
 “ that every man in this erthe is a pilgrime towarde
 “ blyfs,

“ blyfs, or toward peyne ; and that he that knoweth not, Cent. XV.
 “ ne wole not knowe, ne kepe the holy commande-
 “ mentes of God in his lyvyng here, al be it, that he goo
 “ on pylgrymage to all the world, an he dy fo, he shall
 “ be dampned ; and he that knowyth the holy comman-
 “ dementys of God, and kepeth hem hys end, he shall
 “ be faved, tho’ he nevir in hys lyve go on pilgrymage,
 “ as men ufe now, to Cantirbury or to Rome, or to
 “ any othir place (25).”

The primate, after confulting with the bifhops and Romifh
 doctōrs, told lord Cobham, that feveral things in his pa- creed.
 per had a good and catholic appearance ; but that it was
 not fufficiently explicit on any of the four heads, of the
 eucharift, confeffion, images, and pilgrymages. For his
 inftitution, therefore, he gave him the following paper,
 containing the doctrine of the church on thefe fubjects,
 and allowed him two days to confider it. “ The fayth
 “ and the determination of holy church touching the
 “ blifsful facrament of the auter is this: That after the
 “ facramentall wordes ben fayde by a preft in hys mafle,
 “ the material bred that was bifore, is turned into Criftis
 “ verray body ; and the material wyn that was before, is
 “ turned into Cryftes verray blode ; and there leweth in
 “ the auter no material brede, ne material wyn, the wych
 “ wer ther byfore the feying of the facramental wordes :
 “ How lyve ye this article ?—Holy church hath deter-
 “ myned, that every Criften man lyvyng here bodilich in
 “ erthe, oughte to fchryve to a preft ordeyned by the
 “ church if he may come to hym : How fele ye this ar-
 “ ticle ?—Crift ordeyned Seint Petir the apoftell, to ben
 “ his vicarie here in erthe ; whos fee ys the church of
 “ Rome, ordynying and grauntyng the fame power that
 “ he gaf to Petir fhuld fuccede to all Petirs fuccellours ;
 “ the wych we callyn now popes of Rome ; by whos
 “ power in churches particuler fpecial ben ordeyned pre-
 “ lates, as archbyfhoppes, byfhoppes, curates, and
 “ other degrees, to whom Criften men oughte to obey
 “ after the lawes of the church of Rome. This is deter-
 “ mination of holy church: How fele ye this articull ?
 “ —Holy church hath determined, that it is needfull to
 “ a Criftn man to goo a pylgrymach to holy places, and

Cent. XV. “ there specially to worship holy reliques of seyntes, apostelys, martyrs, confessours, and all seyntes approved be church of Rome. This is determination of holy church: How fele ye this article (26)?” Such strange things our ancestors, in the fifteenth century, were obliged to believe, under the pain of being burnt to ashes!

Lord Cobham condemned.

Lord Cobham was brought before the primate, bishops, and doctors, on Monday September 25; and having again and again refused to profess his belief of the several articles contained in the paper that had been given him two days before, the archbishop, modestly, mildly, and sweetly (as he says himself), pronounced a sentence of condemnation against him, as an obstinate heretic, and delivered him over to the secular arm; the meaning of which was perfectly well known (27). At this last examination, which was very long, lord Cobham behaved with great intrepidity and presence of mind, and frequently put the whole court to silence, by the quickness and propriety of his speeches. As soon as the sentence of condemnation was pronounced, he fell on his knees, and put a fervent prayer to God to forgive his enemies; after which he was carried back to his prison in the Tower (28).

Escapes from the Tower.

Though the king was offended with lord Cobham, for his opposition to the church, he still esteemed him for his valour; and therefore delayed his execution, in hopes of bringing him to recant. His condemnation was also very unpopular, and had brought a general odium upon his judges; which made the primate consent to, or, as some say, desire this delay; which gave the prisoner an opportunity of escaping from the tower, and flying into Wales, where he concealed himself several years (29).

Death of Arundel, succession of Chicheley.

Archbishop Arundel, whose character is sufficiently indicated by his conduct, died February 10, A. D. 1414, and was succeeded by Henry Chicheley, bishop of St. David's, who was elected by the monks of Canterbury, on the king's recommendation. Pope John XXIII. though in a very ticklish situation himself, contending with two anti-popes, disannulled that election, as an en-

(26) Wilkin. Concilia, p. 354, 355.

(28) See Fox, p. 516, &c.

(27) Id. ibid.

(29) Walsing. p. 385.

croachment on his right of nomination; but, not daring ^{Cent. XV.} to disoblige the king and church of England too much, he nominated the same person who had been elected (30). On receiving his pall from the pope, July 29, he took an oath of canonical obedience, in such strong terms, that it rendered him more the subject of that pontiff, than of his natural sovereign (31).

The new primate was as great a persecutor of the Lollards as his predecessor. It was probably by his influence that a very severe law was made against them by the parliament at Leicester, A. D. 1415. By that law all former statutes against them were confirmed; and it was further enacted, That the chancellor, the judges of both benches, and of assize, all justices of the peace, sheriffs, mayors, and bailiffs, should take an oath, at their admission to their offices, to do every thing in their power to extirpate all Lollards out of the kingdom, and to assist the ordinaries in prosecuting Lollards (32).

At the king's command, the university of Oxford drew up a catalogue of those abuses in the church that needed reformation, to be laid before the council of Constance. This catalogue consists of forty-six articles, and (though it was composed by clergymen) gives a most odious picture of the manners of the clergy at this period, particularly of their avarice and debauchery. Of each of these it will be sufficient to give one example. In the twenty-seventh article it is said, "It is notorious, that when a Pagan or Jew, abandoning his former errors, desires to be purified in the holy fount of baptism, all his temporal goods are confiscated to the church; which, it is believed, prevents many Jews from being baptized. It would be pious and meritorious in the council to remedy this abuse. For when Philip baptized the eunuch, he did not seize his chariot, or the other goods he had about him, at his baptism." The thirty-eighth article represents, "That the carnal and debauched lives of the clergy in our days, and their public fornications, which are never punished (except perhaps by a small fine in private), set an evil exam-

(30) Antiq. Britan. p. 276.

(31) Duch. Vita Chicheley, p. 12.

(32) Statutes at large, an. 1415. Wilkin, p. 355.

Cent. XV. “ ple before others ; it would therefore be a holy thing,
 “ and contribute to the reformation of the church, if
 “ priests, of every rank and order, who were public for-
 “ nicators, were obliged to abstain from celebrating mass
 “ for a limited time (33).”

Barbers re- The primate attempted, about this time, to reform
 formed. another order of men, the barber-surgeons, and published
 a decree in all the churches in his province, forbidding
 them to keep their shops open on the Lord's day ;
 which, by a strange mistake, he described in this man-
 ner : “ The Lord's day, viz. the seventh day of the
 “ week, which the Lord blessed and made holy, and on
 “ which, after his six days works, he rested from all
 “ his labour (34).”

Persecu- But the Lollards were the great objects of the hatred
 tion. and discipline of the church in this period. One John
 Claydon, a furrier in London, together with certain
 English books found in his house, was brought before
 the primate, and several bishops and doctors, August
 17, A. D. 1415, by Thomas Fauconer mayor. He was
 accused of being a relapsed heretic ; and confessed,—that
 he had long been suspected of Lollardry ;—that he had
 been imprisoned for it two years in Conway castle, and
 three years in the fleet, near London ; and that he had
 abjured it before the late primate. To prove that he
 had relapsed, the English books found in his house were
 produced by the mayor ; particularly one, called *The
 Lanterne of Light*, which, he said, was the vilest and
 most perverse book he had ever seen. Three of his ser-
 vants were brought to give evidence, that their master
 used to hear people read these books to him (as he could
 not read himself ;) and that he seemed to approve of what
 he heard. The archbishop appointed the examiner-
 general of Canterbury to examine the witnesses, and cer-
 tain doctors to examine the books, and then adjourned
 the court to the 10th of the same month. On that day
 the depositions of the witnesses were produced, bearing,
 That they had often heard one John Fuller read these
 English books, particularly the *Lanterne of Light*, to

(33) Wilkin. Concil. p. 360—365.

(34) Wilkin. Concil. p. 368.

their master ; and that he seemed to be highly delighted with what he heard. The doctors who had examined the books declared, that they were full of heresies ; and that the Lanterne of Light contained no fewer than fifteen. The archbishop then condemned the books to be burned, and pronounced John Claydon a relapsed heretic, and delivered him to the secular arm (35). In consequence of this sentence, he was conducted to Smithfield, and there committed to the flames.

It would be tedious to relate the trials of all the Lollards during the primacy of archbishop Chicheley. By one of his constitutions, A. D. 1416, three of the most respectable inhabitants of every parish were solemnly sworn to make diligent inquiry, if there were any Lollards, or any suspected of Lollardry, or any who had English books in their houses, or had any thing singular in their way of living, within their parish, and to send an account, in writing, to the archdeacon, twice every year, of their names, and all other circumstances (36). By this constitution a strict search after Lollards was set on foot, prodigious numbers of them were detected, thrown into prison, and cruelly harassed and persecuted. But it must be confessed, that they generally fainted in the fiery trial, and chose rather to be hypocrites than martyrs.

Immediately after lord Cobham's escape out of the Tower, a proclamation was issued, January 11, A. D. 1415, offering a reward of 1000 marks to any who should apprehend him, 500 marks to any who should give information of the place of his retreat, and exemption from all taxes for ever to the inhabitants of any city, town, or village, who should seize him (37). All these tempting offers produced no effect for several years (38). But at length he was apprehended, after some resistance, by the lord Powis, in December A. D. 1418, and brought to Westminster, where a parliament was then sitting, by which he was condemned, on his former sentence, to be strangled and burnt. This sentence was accordingly executed at Tyburn ; and the death of this great man proved a great discouragement to the Lollards.

(35) Wilkin. Concil. p. 371—374.

(37) Rym. Fœd. tom. 9. p. 89.

(36) Id. ibid. p. 378.

(38) Fox. p. 59.

Cent. XV.

Affairs of
little mo-
ment.

In the three last years of the reign of Henry V. the English were so eagerly engaged in pushing their conquests in France, that their ecclesiastical annals consist almost entirely of the trials of heretics, and other matters of little moment (39). It is remarkable with how gentle a hand the prelates of this period touched the article of reformation, for which there was so loud a call. In a convocation of the clergy of the province of Canterbury, May 5, A. D. 1421, a decree was made, "That a bishop's box should not demand a fee from those who received holy orders from the bishop (40)."

Haughti-
ness of the
pope.

The late long schism in the papacy had very much diminished the papal power and pride. The several contending popes dared not to treat the princes and nations in their communion with their usual insolence, for fear of a revolt. But that schism being now nearly healed, and Martin V. in full possession of the papal chair, he began to revive the most extravagant claims of his haughtiest predecessors, and to talk in the most imperious strain to the greatest princes and prelates. The several bulls which he directed to the archbishop of Canterbury, and to the king and parliament of England, in the years 1426 and 1427, concerning the law called *premunire*, which prevented the popes from disposing of all the benefices in the kingdom at pleasure, afford a striking proof of this fact. In these bulls he treated the archbishop with great asperity, and gave him the most opprobrious names, for suffering that detestable, execrable, abominable law (as he called it), to subsist so long. He treated the king and parliament very little better; telling them plainly, that he was constituted by the Lord Jesus Christ supreme head over them and the universal church; giving them broad hints, that if they did not repeal that odious statute, they would all be damned; and promising, if they repealed it, to be very good to them, and not oppress them very much. The primate, to regain the favour of the pope, went, attended by the other prelates, to the house of commons, and, with many tears and prayers, intreated them to consent to the repeal of the obnoxious act (41). But the hard-

(39) Wilkin. Concil. p. 300—417.

(41) Wilkin. Concil. p. 471—487.

(40) Id. p. 399.

hearted commons remained unmoved by all his tears and prayers. Cent. XV.

The opinions of Wickliffe were not confined to his native country, but were more universally adopted in some other places, particularly in Bohemia, than in England; which greatly alarmed the court of Rome. The pope, therefore, published a bull, A. D. 1428, and sent it into England, as well as into other countries, commanding solemn processions to be made, on the first Sunday of every month, in all churches and church-yards, in order to draw down the vengeance of Heaven on these heretical Bohemians; and promising sixty days indulgence to all who attended these processions, or who said twenty-five *pater nosters*, with the same pious intention (42). His holiness, not trusting entirely to supernatural interposition for the destruction of the enemies of the church, proclaimed a croisade against the Bohemians, granting the pardon of all their sins, and the happiness of heaven, to all who died on that expedition; and a certain quantity of indulgences to all who contributed to its success, in proportion to the value of the contribution (43). Many of the English engaged in that croisade, which was conducted by the cardinal of Winchester.

Croisade
against the
Bohemians.

The clergy, in their convocations in this period, sometimes meddled with things that seem to have been a little out of their road. In the convention of Canterbury, A. D. 1430, it was represented, that some merchants bought certain goods by the auncil weight, and sold them by avoirdupois weight, which was lighter. The convocation therefore made a canon, That no person should use the auncil weight, under the penalty of the greater excommunication (44).

Auncil-
weight pro-
hibited.

Martin V. was, with great difficulty, prevailed upon, or rather compelled, to call a general council, according to his own promise, and a decree of the council of Constance; and appointed Julian, cardinal of St. Angelo, to preside in it in his name. But the pope died, February 29 (before the council met at Basil, July 19,

Council of
Basil.

(42) Wilkin. Concil. p. 492.

(43) Id. p. 511.

(44) Wilkin. Concil. p. 516.

Cent. XV. A. D. 1431), and was succeeded by Gabriel Condolmicas, a Venetian, who took the name of Eugenius IV. and confirmed the nomination of cardinal Julian to preside in the council. In the second session, February 15, A. D. 1432, the council decreed,—That a general council, when sitting, was supreme head of the church, to whose censure all persons (the pope not excepted) were subject;—and that the pope could not dissolve a general council, without the consent of the members. The pope, irritated at these two decrees, published a bull of dissolution; at which the fathers at Basil were so much offended, that they threatened to depose him, and elect another pope, if he did not recall his bull (45). When affairs were in this distracted state, the archbishop of Canterbury called a convocation of the prelates and clergy of his province, November 7, A. D. 1433, and proposed the following questions to the representatives of the clergy in the lower house: Hath the pope power to dissolve a general council? Hath the council of Basil power to depose pope Eugenius? If that council depose Eugenius, and elect another, will you adhere to him, or to the pope chosen by the council? After requesting some days to deliberate on these questions, they returned the following answers, by their prolocutor Thomas Pikyngton. The pope hath power to dissolve a general council: The council hath not power to depose pope Eugenius: If that council depose pope Eugenius, we will still obey him as lawful pope (46). One thing that engaged the English clergy to embrace the party of the pope against the council was this: in the council of Constance, the members deliberated, and voted by nations; and the English had one entire vote: but in the council of Basil, the members were divided into four deputations, each of which was composed of persons of different nations; and the English, being few, and divided into the different deputations, were lost in the crowd, and had little influence in the council. Of this they sent home grievous complaints; which irritated the English clergy against the council, and made them desire its dissolution (47).

(45) Du Pin. cent. 15. ch. 3.

(46) Wilkin. Concil. p. 323.

(47) Id. *ibid.*

The Bohemians having proved victorious in the field Cent. XV.
 over the emperor Sigismund, and all the princes and prelates who had engaged against them, the council of Negotiation with the Bohemians.
 Basil entered into a kind of negotiation with them. The Bohemian deputies proposed certain points of reformation, which if the council granted, they promised that they and their countrymen would return to the communion of the church. The archbishop of Canterbury, having received intelligence of this negotiation, proposed this question also to his clergy in the same convocation: Whether any concessions, or what concessions, might be made by the council of Basil to the Bohemians, to bring them back to the communion of the church? To this question the clergy returned this answer: That if the Bohemians required, that the communion should be given in both kinds to the laity, that all priests and deacons should have authority to preach, that temporal offices should not be enjoyed by the clergy, and that all notorious criminals, without distinction, should be punished (which were the four things chiefly insisted on by the Bohemians), they should be denied; and, in a word, that no concessions whatever should be made to such perverse heretics (48). Such determined enemies were the clergy of England, at that time, to all reformation.

The persecution of the Lollards was still carried on Persecution of the Lollards.
 with unabating violence. William Taylor, a clergyman, was condemned by archbishop Chicheley, and burnt in Smithfield, A. D. 1423, for maintaining this heresy (as it was called), "That prayers for spiritual gifts were to be made to God alone; and that to pray to creatures was idolatry." The unhappy man, in hopes of saving his life, admitted, "That an inferior kind of worship might be paid to saints; and that their merits and intercessions were profitable both to the dead and living (49)." But that gave no satisfaction. Father Abraham of Colchester, John White, and John Waddon, priests, were also committed to the flames, for the same crime of Lollardry (50). Many

(48) Wilkin. Concil. p. 323.

(49) Wilkin. Concil. tom. 3. p. 404—13. Fox, p. 606.

(50) Id. p. 607.

Cent. XV. were condemned to perpetual imprisonment, to severe flagellations, and a variety of other punishments.

Contest between the pope and council.

The contest between the pope and the council of Basil still continued, and became gradually more and more violent. Eugenius published a bull, translating the council of Basil to Ferrara, A. D. 1437; and commanded the archbishop of Canterbury, and all the clergy of England who had a right to be members of a general council, to attend him at Ferrara. But though the prelates, abbots, and priors, as well as the civil government of England, favoured the pope in this quarrel, the inferior clergy, in convocation, obstinately refusing to contribute one farthing to the expences of representatives, it is probable that very few were sent (51). The pope deprived and excommunicated all the members of the council of Basil, which was very numerous, and supported by almost all the princes of Europe; and that council very soon returned the compliment, by suspending the pope from the exercise of his office, and excommunicating all the members of his council. At length the council of Basil deposed Eugenius, A. D. 1439, and elected Amadeus duke of Savoy (who had resigned his dominions, and lived in retirement) to be pope; which produced another schism in the church; and the two popes, as usual, cursed and excommunicated one another, and their respective followers (52). But as the church of England took very little part in this quarrel, it would be a digression to pursue the history of it any further.

Death of archbishop Chicheley.

Archbishop Chicheley died April 12, A. D. 1443, after he had been primate twenty-nine years. He was learned for the age in which he flourished, and an encourager of learning. Martin V. and his own haughty fullragan the rich cardinal of Winchester, treated him harshly on some occasions; but, being a prudent man, he had the wisdom to submit, when he had not the power to subdue. He was a cruel persecutor of the Lollards; but doth not seem to have been so fond of burning them as his predecessor; observing, that those scenes of horror

(51) Wilkin. Concil. p. 225, &c.

(52) Du Pin, Cent. XV. ch. 3.

excited compassion for the sufferers, and indignation Cent. XV.
 against their persecutors (53). He was succeeded in the
 primacy by John Stafford, bishop of Bath, a son of the
 earl of Stafford.

A violent contest had arisen between the clergy and the
 common lawyers, about the meaning of a single word in
 the famous statute of premunire. In that statute it was
 enacted, "If any purchase, or pursue, or do to be
 " purchased or pursued, in the court of Rome, or else-
 " where, any such transactions, processes, and sentences
 " of excommunication, bulls, instruments, or any other
 " things which touch the king, against him, his rega-
 " lity, or realm," &c. they shall incur the penalties in
 the statute. By the court of Rome, or elsewhere, the
 clergy understood the court of Rome, whether it was at
 Rome or any other place; but the common lawyers un-
 derstood the court of Rome, or any other court; and
 when any spiritual court in England presumed to judge
 any cause that did not strictly belong to them, the courts
 at Westminster not only granted prohibitions, but pun-
 ished the spiritual judges, as in a premunire (54). The
 two archbishops, with all their suffragans and clergy, pre-
 sented a petition to parliament, A. D. 1447, earnestly
 entreating an explanation of the word elsewhere, in the
 statute of the 16th Richard II. agreeable to their views.
 In this petition they complain bitterly of the presump-
 tion of the courts at Westminster, in pretending to
 be the sole interpreters of acts of parliament, affirming
 that the spiritual courts had as good a right to, and were
 much better qualified for that office (55). But the par-
 liament paid no regard to their petition.

The popes in this period considered all the clergy in
 the Christian world as their immediate subjects, on whom
 they might impose what taxes they pleased. But though
 the clergy had a great veneration for the pope, many of
 them had a greater veneration for their money; which
 obliged the court of Rome to call upon kings and princes
 to compel these refractory ecclesiastics to pay their taxes.
 Pope Eugenius having imposed a tax of one tenth of their
 benefices on all the clergy of England, and suspecting

(53) Duch. Vita Chicheley, p. 47, 48. Wilkin. Concil. p. 537.

(54) See Ruffhead's Statutes, vol. 1. p. 406.

(55) Wilkin. Concil. p. 555.

Cent. XV. that they would not be very fond of paying it, he sent, by his collector, a consecrated rose of gold, with a bull, to Henry VI. In this bull his holiness magnified the honour he had done to the king, by sending him so precious a present, and explained the mysterious meanings of the rose; nor did he forget to exhort him to use all the authority he had over the clergy, to make them pay the tax pleasantly, which (he said) would be a great advantage to him and his subjects. The rose was received with great ceremony; and the primate, who was also chancellor, made a long and eloquent speech to the pope's collector, on the beauties and virtues of the rose: but on the tax he was rather dry, telling him only, that the king would send some persons to converse with his holiness on that subject, and forbidding him to collect any money in England till they returned (56).

**Succession
of primates.**

The foreign and domestic disorders and calamities in which the English were involved at this time, render their ecclesiastical history as barren and unimportant as their civil history is copious and interesting. Archbishop Stafford died A. D. 1452, and was succeeded by John Kemp, archbishop of York, and cardinal of St. Balbina, who enjoyed the primacy only about eighteen months; and on his death, Thomas Bourchier, bishop of Ely, and brother to the earl of Essex, was advanced to that high station (57).

**Trial of
bishop Po-
ccke.**

Reginold Pocoke, bishop of Chichester, had been patronised and promoted by Humphrey, the good duke of Gloucester; but after the death of that prince, the clergy became clamorous against him, accusing him of many heresies. At length archbishop Bourchier commanded both the bishop and his accusers to appear before him, by a citation, dated at Lambeth, October 22, A. D. 1457 (58). The bishop was examined several times by the primate, assisted by other prelates and doctors, and was at last prevailed upon, by threats and promises, to recant. The accounts we have of the trial and tenets of bishop Pocoke are confused and contradictory; but the opinions he acknowledged he had held, and which he recanted, were these following: "We are not bound,

(56) Wilkin. Concil. p. 548.

(57) Antiq. Britan. p. 298.

(58) Fox, p. 651.

“ by the necessity of faith, to believe that our Lord Je-
 “ sus Christ, after his death, descended into hell.—It is Cent. XV.
 “ not necessary to salvation, to believe in the holy catho-
 “ lic church.—It is not necessary to salvation, to believe
 “ the communion of saints.—It is not necessary to salva-
 “ tion, to affirm the body of Christ is materially in the
 “ sacrament.—The universal church may err in matters
 “ which pertain unto faith.—It is not necessary unto sal-
 “ vation, to believe that that which every general council
 “ doth universally ordain, approve, and determine,
 “ should necessarily, for the help of our faith, and the
 “ salvation of our soul, be approved and holden of all
 “ faithful Christians (59).” For having maintained
 these opinions, though he now renounced them, this
 prelate was deprived of his see, and doomed to spend
 the rest of his days in retirement, if not in prison.

The taking of Constantinople, the capital of the east-
 tern empire, May 29, A. D. 1452, by Mahomet II. Crusade
against the
Turks.
 emperor of the Turks, alarmed all the Christian princes
 and states of Europe. But these princes and states were
 so much engaged in war, that they could not be brought
 to unite against the common enemy; and the clergy were
 left to fight with their spiritual weapons against those ad-
 versaries of the Christian faith. Archbishop Kemp pub-
 lished, March 2, A. D. 1453, an order for processions
 to be made for a whole year; and in this he was imi-
 tated by his successor (60). For in those times proces-
 sions were believed to be the most effectual means of pro-
 curing the divine favour and assistance. At length pope
 Pius II. (formerly Æneas Silvius) published a long, elo-
 quent, and pathetic bull, A. D. 1463, engaging to
 march in person, at the head of a Christian army, against
 the Turks, and most earnestly exhorting all Christians to
 take the cross, or to contribute by their money to the
 success of the expedition; promising the pardon of sin,
 and the happiness of heaven, to all who complied with
 his desire (61). At the same time the pope sent bulls
 into every Christian country, imposing a tax of one
 tenth on the benefices of all the clergy. Edward IV.
 who then reigned in England, not willing to acknow-

(59) Fox, p. 561. (60) Id. *ibid.* Wilkin. Concil. p. 563. 572.

(61) Wilkin. Concil. p. 587—593.

Cent. XV. ledge the pope's right to tax his clergy, and yet desirous that they should contribute liberally on this occasion, wrote to the primate, to raise a handsome sum by a voluntary assessment, which would satisfy the pope, and prevent the publication of his bull. This method was pursued: but so little were the clergy disposed to part with their money, that it was with much difficulty the primate prevailed upon them to grant sixpence in the pound (62).

Charter of Edward IV.

Edward IV. soon after his accession, being earnestly desirous of the support of the clergy, made a most unwarrantable stretch of his prerogative in their favour, by granting them a charter, which rendered them almost entirely independent of the civil government, and left them at liberty to do what they pleased. By that charter, he took upon him to dispense with the famous statute of premunire, which no intreaty could ever persuade the parliament to repeal; and he discharged all civil judges and magistrates to take any notice of any treasons, murders, rapes, robberies, thefts, or any other crimes committed by archbishops, bishops, priests, deacons, or any person in holy orders. Nay, if any person apprehended for a crime pretended that he was in orders, though no such thing had ever been heard of, the magistrate was commanded to deliver him to the bishop, or his official, to determine whether he was in orders or not; which opened a door for the most gross abuses (63). So shameless were the claims of the clergy in those times, and so extravagant were the concessions of princes in their favour, when they stood in need of their assistance!

Profligacy of the clergy.

Many of the clergy (if we may believe archbishop Bourchier) made a very bad use of this exemption from civil authority. That prelate, in a commission he granted to his commissary-general to attempt some reformation, says, that many of the clergy, both secular and regular, were ignorant, illiterate blockheads, or rather idiots; and that they were as profligate as they were ignorant, neglecting their cures, strolling about the country with bad women in their company, spending the revenues of their benefices in feasting and drinking, in fornication and adultery (64).

(62) *Id.* p. 554, &c.

(63) *Wilkin. Concil.* p. 583.

(64) *Id.* p. 573.

The long and cruel persecution which the Lollards had endured, seems either to have diminished their number, or shaken their constancy, or perhaps both; for we only hear of one person who was burnt for heresy in the reign of Edward IV. when the church was most vigorously supported by the secular arm (65).

Cent. XV.
One burnt
for heresy.

A violent dispute was carried on, in the reign of Edward IV. between the secular clergy and the begging friars. These last maintained, that Jesus Christ had been a beggar, and that they, on that account, were his greatest favourites, and intitled to the peculiar regard and bounty of the faithful. The seculars, perceiving the design and tendency of that doctrine, declaimed and wrote against it with great vehemence, as false and impious. At last pope Calixtus II. published a bull against the mendicants, A. D. 1475, declaring their doctrine to be heretical (66).

Dispute between the
seculars and
regulars.

Though the convocations of the province of York generally adopted or imitated the constitutions of those of Canterbury, yet they sometimes made constitutions of their own that were singular and curious, of which it may be proper to give one example. In the convocation of the province of York, held by archbishop Nevile, A. D. 1466, several remarkable canons were made. By the first canon, every parish priest is commanded to preach four times in the year to his people, either himself or by another, and explain to them in English, without any fantastical subtilities,—the fourteen articles of faith—the ten precepts of the decalogue—the two precepts of the gospel—the seven works of mercy—the seven mortal sins—the seven principal virtues—and the seven sacraments of grace. To enable the clergy to perform this task, the convocation subjoined an explanation of each of these particulars, which forms a system of the Catholic theology of the fifteenth century, not a little curious, but far too long to be here inserted. In the explanation of the ten precepts of the decalogue, the first commandment is said to be a prohibition of all enchantments, superstitious characters, and such figments; the second is entirely omitted; and to keep up the number, the tenth is divided into two. This was using no little free-

Convoca-
tion of
York.

(65) Fox, p. 659.

(66) Fox, p. 659. Fuller, p. 132.

Cent. XV. doin with a system of laws which they acknowledged to be divine. So perfectly pure were the members of this convocation, that they would not give any explanation of luxury (one of the seven mortal sins), for fear of corrupting the air. But they are still more distinguished for the prodigious desire they discover to preserve the poor laity from being damned for not paying their tithes punctually and fully to the church; and that they might not be guilty of any omission in a matter so essential to salvation, they give them a most complete catalogue of tithable subjects (67). The canons made by that convocation contain several other remarkable particulars.

**Petition of
the clergy.**

The minds of men were so much engaged and agitated by the sudden and surprising revolutions that took place in the short reigns of Edward V. and Richard III. that they seem to have paid little attention to ecclesiastical affairs. The clergy of both provinces in convocation, presented a supplication to Richard, complaining, that the clergy “were cruelly, grievously, and dayly troubled, vexed, indigted, and arrested, by malicious and evil-disposed parsons. In eschuyng of which, say they, seeing your most noble and blessed disposition in all other things, we beseech you to take tender respect and consideration unto the premises, and of yourself, as a most catholic prince, to see such remedies, that under your most gracious letters patents, the liberties of Christ’s church and yours may be confirmed, and sufficiently authorized by your high court of parliament, rather enlarged than diminished (68).” Whether the clergy on this occasion used the language of truth or flattery, when they praised Richard for his most noble and blessed dispositions in all things, may be doubted; but it was a language very agreeable to the royal ear, and they obtained letters patents, February 23, A. D. 1484, confirming those of Edward IV. and emancipating them from the jurisdiction of the king’s courts (69).

(67) Vide Wilkin. Concil. p. 599—603.

(68) Wilkin. Concil. tom. 3. p. 614.

(69) Id. ibid. p. 616.

Though

Though Wickliffe and his followers detected many of the errors, and exposed many of the superstitious practices of the church in this period, the clergy obstinately refused to abandon any of those errors, or relinquish any of those superstitions, and persecuted with unrelenting cruelty all who attempted the smallest reformation. The declamations of the Lollards against the excessive power and riches, and scandalous lives, of priests, inflamed their rage against them, and made them reject all their other opinions, without much examination; and the laity, in general, were still too ignorant, or too indifferent, to form opinions for themselves on subjects of that kind. So great was the opposition to every thing that had the appearance of reformation, that errors and superstitious rites were multiplied rather than diminished. Transubstantiation was now fully established, and made an essential article in the creed of every member of the church. The cup was taken from the laity, but with great caution, and by slow degrees. The clergy were first commanded to be at great pains to instruct the people, "that both the body and blood of the Lord were given at once, under the species of bread, nay the entire, living, and true Christ; that the wine in the cup was not the sacrament, but mere wine, given them (it was then given them) to make them swallow the bread more easily." The clergy are then directed to begin to withhold the cup in small obscure churches, and to exhort the people to swallow the bread without chewing, that none of it might stick in their teeth (70). The churches were crowded with images of the Virgin Mary, and other saints, to which much greater homage was paid than to the Supreme Being. Several English saints, as St. Osmund the bishop, the two virgins, St. Fridiswida and St. Ethelrida, were canonized in this period, and festivals instituted to their honour (71). The festivals of other saints, as of St. George, St. Edward the Confessor, the Visitation of the Virgin Mary, were made double festivals, and many additional ceremonies appointed to be observed. Great stress was now laid on pilgrimages, processions, indul-

Cent. XV.
General ob-
servations.

(70) Wilkin. Concil. p. 662, 663. (71) Id. ibid. p. 613.

Cent. XV.

gences, confessions to priests, and their pardons : and the people seem to have had a good deal to confess, and to have stood much in need of pardon. George Neville, archbishop of York, enumerates no fewer than thirty-seven kinds of sin, which none but the pope or a bishop could pardon. The first and greatest of these sins was heresy ; the second was *crimen contra naturam, maxime cum brutis* ; the thirty-seventh, and least in the estimation of the church, was raising a sedition which endangered a state or city (72). In a word, ignorance, vice, and superstition, seemed to have gained ground in England in the course of this period, though the revival of learning, and the reformation of religion, were at no great distance.

Church-
history of
Scotland,
imperfect.

The church-history of Scotland is as imperfectly preserved in this as in the former period. There is sufficient evidence that, besides diocesan synods, general synods or assemblies were frequently, if not annually, celebrated (73). But their records were either destroyed at the Reformation, with the libraries in which they had been deposited, or were carried away into foreign countries. We have the less reason to regret the loss of these records, that the canons of all the national churches in those times were nearly the same, having been either copied from one another, or dictated by the court of Rome. Before the establishment of archbishops and a primate in Scotland, one of the bishops was chosen *conservator privilegiorum*, and presided in these general assemblies of the clergy (74).

Bishops of
St. Andrew's.

Though the bishops of St. Andrew's had no direct authority over the other bishops till toward the end of this period, they had a kind of tacit pre-eminence, and were considered as the first bishops of Scotland, on account of the antiquity and opulence of their see. That excellent prelate bishop Trail having died A. D. 1401, Thomas Stewart, archdeacon of St. Andrew's, nearly related to the royal family, was elected in his room ; but being a

(72) Wilkin. Concil. p. 613.

(73) A. D. 1420. *Congregata sunt, apud Perth, in ecclesia fratrum prædicatorum, synodus provincialis et concilium generale cleri regni Scotiæ, prout moris est.* Wilkin. Concil. tom. 1. p. 397.

(74) Wilkin. Concil. tom. 3. p. 397.

man of a reclusive unambitious disposition, declined accepting the office; and the chapter refusing to make a new election while he lived, the king retained the temporalities till his death, A. D. 1404. Gilbert Grientalaw, bishop of Aberdeen, was then elected; but Henry Wardlaw, precentor of Glasgow, being at the court of Benedict XIII. one of the contending popes, obtained the vacant see by a papal provision (75). Cent. XV.

Wickliffe's followers being cruelly persecuted in England, several of them fled into foreign countries, in hopes of saving their lives without wounding their consciences. One of them, John Risby, a preacher, fled into Scotland, where he met with the hard fate he endeavoured to avoid, and was burnt for heresy A. D. 1407 (75). John Risby burnt.

The kingdom and church of Scotland adhered longer to Benedict XIII. than any other church or nation. The council of Constance having deposed that pope, and his rival John XXIII. and chosen Martin V. sent the abbot of Pontiniac, a celebrated orator and divine, into Scotland, to persuade the Scots to withdraw their obedience from Benedict, and acknowledge the pope chosen by the council. The emperor Sigismund sent letters to the regent and three estates, to the same purpose. This important question was debated two days, October 2 and 3, A. D. 1416, in a general assembly at Perth. The abbot of Pontiniac made an eloquent harangue to the assembly, in commendation of the council of Constance and Martin V. and earnestly intreated them to acknowledge that pope, and put an end to the schism in the church. Letters were presented from Benedict XIII. reprobating the council of Constance, and maintaining that he was the only lawful pope. This cause was favoured by the regent, and strenuously defended by friar Robert Harding, an Englishman, who made a kind of sermon to the assembly, from a text of scripture. But Mr. John Elwolde, rector of the university of St. Andrew's, founded about four years before, and some other famous divines, having proved that the friar had mistaken the meaning of his text, that his sermon was scandalous, seditious, and heretical, the assembly complied with the Assembly at Perth.

(75) Spottiswoode, p. 56.

(76) *Id.* *ibid.*

Cent XV. request of the council, and acknowledged Martin V. for their lawful pope (77).

Another general assembly at Perth. We have some remains of a general assembly or convocation of the clergy of Scotland, that met at Perth, July 16, A. D. 1420. It consisted of six bishops, and the procurators of eight who were absent; a good many deans, archdeacons, friars, and the greatest part of the clergy (says the record) who used to come to general assemblies. William bishop of Dunblane, being chosen conservator of privileges, presided in that assembly; the chief design of which seems to have been, to investigate the customs that had been observed in former times by the several bishops courts in the confirmation of testaments, and to ascertain the fees of these courts. This was done by the declarations, upon oath, of some of the oldest clergymen in each diocese; and from these declarations it appeared, that the customs that had been immemorially and universally used were these: 1. That the ordinaries in every diocese had been accustomed, time out of mind, to confirm testaments, and to appoint executors to those who died intestate: 2. To sequester the goods of the defunct, till their testaments were produced and confirmed: 3. To oblige the executors, both of the testate and intestate, to take an oath *de fidei*: 4. To oblige them to give an account of their administration. The fees of court appear to have been very moderate. These customs were then formed into a canon or law, to which all the members affixed their seals, and the whole transaction was attested by two notaries (78).

Councils.

The clergy of Scotland did not concern themselves much with the councils of Constance and Basil. During the sitting of the first, they were in the obedience of Benedict XIII.; and after they acknowledged Martin V. they continued in the obedience of him and his successor Eugenius IV. though deposed by the council of Basil. A Scots abbot, whose name is not mentioned, distinguished himself very much in the debates of that council (79).

(77) Fordun Scotichron. edit. Hearn, vol. 4. p. 1186, Sec.

(78) Wilkin, Concil. p. 397.

(79) Du Pin, Cent. XV. ch. 3.

When James Kennedy, bishop of Dunkeld, attended ^{Cent. XV.} pope Eugenius and his council at Florence, A. D. 1444, he was elected to succeed Henry Wardlaw in the ^{Bishop} see of St. Andrew's. ^{Kennedy.} Bishop Kennedy was nearly related to the king; and, happily for his country, had great influence in all the affairs both of church and state; as he was one of the wisest statesmen, and best prelates, that Scotland ever produced. By his example and authority, he made as great a reformation in the church, and the manners of the clergy, as it was possible to make, while the pernicious power, absurd doctrines, and superstitious rites, of the church of Rome remained (80).

A kind of convocation of the clergy, or rather a de-^{Convoca-}putation of the clergy and parliament, consisting of ^{tion at} thirty-six persons, met in the manse of the vicar of Edin-^{Edinburgh;}burgh, June 28, A. D. 1445. John bishop of Brechin was then conservator of the privileges of the church of Scotland, and presided in that meeting; but John Sives, canon of Glasgow and Aberdeen, and official general of St. Andrew's, was (for what reason I know not) joined with him as an assessor. John Winchester bishop of Moray, as procurator for all the clergy, presented two papal bulls, one of Gregory VII. the other of Martin V. and requested that several authentic copies of these bulls might be made; that, if the originals should be lost, these copies might bear equal faith. This was done with great formality, and each of the copies attested to be faithful, by all the members of the court, and by three notaries. A custom had prevailed in Scotland, that when the king's officers took possession of the temporalities of a vacant see, they seized also all the goods or personal estates of the deceased bishop. The bull of Gregory VII. prohibited this practice for the future, and declared all who should thereafter be concerned in it excommunicated, the king himself not excepted. The king had complained to Martin V. that Finlaw bishop of Argyle had joined in a rebellion against him; and when that rebellion was crushed, had fled into a foreign country, and left his diocese destitute of a spiritual father; and that pope, by his bull, granted a commission

Cent. XV.

to the bishops of St. Andrew's and Dunblane, to examine into the facts in this cause, and report to him, who alone, by the divine appointment, had the government of all the clergy in the world, that he might do justice (81). So great was the authority of the popes, and so little the power of kings over the clergy in those times.

Convoca-
tion at
Perth.

King James II. sent Sir Patrick Grahame and Mr. Archibald Whitelaw to a convocation of the clergy at Perth, July 19, A. D. 1459, to demand a declaration from them, "That the king, by ancient custom, had a right to present to all the livings in the gift of any bishop, that became vacant during the vacancy of the see, and while the temporalities were in the king's hands." The convocation, after examining several of the clergy upon oath, granted a declaration, conformable to the king's desire, subscribed by Thomas Spence, bishop of Aberdeen, conservator; Donald Ede, clerk to the convocation or assembly; and John Petrie, notary-public (82).

St. An-
drew's
made an
archbi-
shopric.

That excellent prelate bishop Kennedy died at St. Andrew's A. D. 1466, and was succeeded by a near relation of his own, Patrick Grahame, bishop of Brechin. This prelate being obnoxious to the Boyles, who were then the king's favourites, had many difficulties to encounter. To avoid the effects of their displeasure, and to obtain the confirmation of his election, he went to the papal court, where he resided several years, not daring to return while his enemies were in power. Being an ingenious and learned man, he ingratiated himself so far into the favour of pope Sixtus IV. that he erected the see of St. Andrew's into an archbishopric, and constituted archbishop Grahame, and his successors, primates of all Scotland, A. D. 1472 (83). The new honours with which he was adorned having raised the envy of the other prelates, and the new powers with which he was invested as papal legate having excited the fears of many, he found himself surrounded with enemies. By these he was accused of having left the kingdom without a royal licence, of having accepted of the

(81) Wilkin. Concil. tom. 3. p. 344. Sec.

(82) Wilkin. Concil. tom. 3. p. 576.

(83) Buchanan. lib. 12. p. 226.

office of papal legate without the king's permission, and of various other delinquencies ; for which he was committed to prison, where he died, A. D. 1478 (84). So unfortunate was the first primate of the church of Scotland ; and several of his successors were still more unhappy. Cent. XV.

Archbishop Grahame was succeeded by William Shevez, who had been one of his most violent enemies. Shevez, on his return from the university of Louvain, where he had studied under one Spiricus, a famous astrologer of those times, boasted of superior skill in that science ; which procured him a presentation to the archdeaconry of St. Andrew's, from James III. who was a great admirer of astrology and astrologers. But the new primate, who had a sovereign contempt for both, refused to admit Shevez to that office ; who was thereby so much enraged, that he joined with one Locky, rector of the university of St. Andrew's, and the other enemies of the archbishop, and never ceased to persecute him till he lodged him in a prison, and was appointed his coadjutor and successor (85). Shevez
archbi-
sh.p.

(84) *Id* *ibid*.

(85) Spottiswoode, p. 598

THE
HISTORY
OF
GREAT BRITAIN.

BOOK V.

CHAP. III.

*History of the Constitution, Government, and Laws, of
GREAT BRITAIN, from the accession of Henry IV.
A. D. 1399, to the accession of Henry VII. A. D.
1485.*

Constitution
not much
changed.

THE kings and people of both the British kingdoms were so much engaged in war in the period we are now examining, that they paid less attention to the improvement of the constitution, government, and laws of their country, than they probably would have done if they had enjoyed more tranquillity. The changes therefore, in these particulars, that took place in this period, and are of such importance as to merit admission into general history, are not very many, and may be comprehended within a narrow compass, without omitting any thing material. For the same reason, it will be sufficient to divide this chapter into

into two sections ; the first containing the constitutional history of England, and the second that of Scotland.

SECTION I.

History of the Constitution, Government, and Laws, of England, from A. D. 1399 to A. D. 1485,

SOME progress seems to have been made, in the ^{Slavery.} course of this period, towards a very happy change in the condition of the lowest order of men in society, by the decline of servitude, and diminution of the number of slaves ; though slavery was still too common, and slaves too numerous. Some examples occur, of men, particularly prisoners of war, being bought and sold like cattle ; and all that can be said is, that these examples are not so frequent as in former times (1). Predial slaves commonly called *villains*, were still very numerous. These unhappy men, with their families, were annexed to the lands on which they dwelt, and transferred with them from one proprietor to another. Their sons could not enter into holy orders without the consent of the owner of the estate to which they were annexed (2). They could not prosecute their lordly masters in a court of law, which must have subjected them to many injuries (3) : and in a word, they had nothing that they could call their own. When sheriffs attempted (as they sometimes did) to levy a tax on the villains of lords and prelates, for paying a part of the wages of the knights in parliament, a writ issued from chancery, prohibiting them to levy such a tax, “ because all the goods in the possession of villains were the property of their lords, who attended parliament (4).”

But there is sufficient evidence, that the number, not ^{Diminished.} not only of domestic, but even of predial slaves, sen-

(1) Hall, f. 35. (2) Rym. Fœd. tom. 9. p. 69.; tom. 11. p. 56.

(3) Id tom. 12. p. 259.

(4) Prynne's Kalendar of Parliamentary Writs, vol. 4. p. 432.

sibly decreased in the course of this period ; and that few of them were to be found, except on the demesnes of prelates and great lords. Other proprietors of estates chose rather to have their lands cultivated by labourers, who were free men ; and, at the request of the commons in parliament, many laws were made, for increasing the number, and regulating the wages, of such labourers (5). By one of these laws, no man who had not an estate worth twenty shillings a-year, equivalent to ten pounds at present, was permitted to put his son to any other employment, but was obliged to bring him up to husbandry work ; and if any person applied to such work till he was twelve years of age, he was not permitted to abandon it, and follow any other line of life (6).

Causes. Various causes contributed to the decline of villanage in England. The proprietors of land by degrees discovered, that slaves, who laboured not for themselves, but for their masters, were often indolent or refractory ; and that they got their work performed to better purpose, and even at less expence, by hired servants. But the almost incessant wars in which the English were engaged in this period, contributed more than anything to the decline of slavery, by obliging prelates, lords, and great men, to put arms into the hands of their villains. There is hardly any evil that doth not produce some good.

Viscounts. A new order of nobles was instituted by Henry VI. A. D. 1440. They were styled *viscounts*, and placed between earls and barons, below the former, and above the latter. John lord Beaumont, the first nobleman of this order, was created viscount Beaumont, in full parliament, at Reading, February 12 that year (7).

Parliament. As the parliament hath long been the great fountain of law, and supreme court of judicature, the guardian of the just prerogatives of the crown and the legal liberties of the people, it merits particular attention in every period. That this august court hath undergone various changes in its constitution, hath been already proved ;

(5) Statutes, vol. 1. p. 612.

(6) Statutes, vol. 1. p. 470.

(7) Selden's Titles of Honour, p. 680. Dugdale's Baronage, v. l. 2. p. 54. My authorities have perhaps mistaken the date of this institution a few years.

and several of these changes, with their causes and effects, have been briefly described, in their proper places, in the former volumes of this work (8). The description that hath been already given of the constituent members of both houses of parliament in the reign of Richard II. will give our readers a sufficient idea of these houses, as they were constituted in the beginning of this period; and therefore, to prevent repetitions, they are referred to that description (9).

As soon as the smaller freeholders, who were not summoned by particular writs, were excused from appearing personally in parliament, and permitted to appear by representatives, the elections of these representatives, their wages and tithe privileges, became the subjects of various laws and political regulations, which had a great influence on the constitution of the house of commons.

At first, and from A. D. 1269 to A. D. 1429, all freeholders, without exception, had votes in electing the knights of the shires in which they resided and had their freeholds. In some counties the small freeholders were very numerous, and many of them very indigent, which produced various inconveniences, and sometimes rendered the elections of the representatives of these counties, scenes of riot, violence, and slaughter. To remedy these evils, a law was made, 8th Henry VI. A. D. 1429, "That the knights of the shires shall be chosen in every county by people dwelling and resident in the same counties, whereof every one of them shall have free land or tenement to the value of forty shillings by the year at least, above all deductions (10)." The letter, but not the spirit, of this law, hath been ever since observed: for forty shillings a-year, A. D. 1429, was equivalent to 20l. a year, A. D. 1784. The representatives of cities and burghs were chosen only by those who actually resided in the cities and boroughs which they represented; but whether by the citizens and burgesses at large, or by the corporations, is not very clear (11). The custom, it is probable, was different

(8) See vol. 2. vol. 3. vol. 4. book 4. ch. 3. § 1—5.

(9) See vol. 4. book 4. ch. 3. § 5.

(10) Statutes, 8th Hen. VI. c. 7; 10th Hen. VI. c. 2.

(11) 1st Hen. V. c. 10.

in different places; and custom, by long continuance, became law. That these laws might be more strictly observed, they were inserted *verbatim* in the writs to sheriffs, for some years after they were made (12).

Elected.

The king, in his writs to the sheriffs, described the qualifications of the persons who were to be elected to represent counties, cities, and boroughs. The freeholders in each county were directed to chuse "two of the fittest and most discreet knights resident in the county (13);" but because actual knights residing and properly qualified sometimes could not be found, an act was made, 23d Henry VI. A. D. 1444, permitting freeholders to chuse "notable esquires, gentlemen by birth, and qualified to be made knights; but no yeoman, or person of an inferior rank (14)." This article of that act was inserted in the subsequent writs for some years, that it might be universally known and observed (15). Those gentlemen who had freehold-estates of 40l. a year, equivalent to 400l. at present, were qualified to be made knights, which was therefore the qualification in point of fortune for the representative of a county (16). By the same writs, the electors in cities and boroughs were directed to chuse the fittest and most discreet persons, freemen of, and residing in, the places for which they were chosen, and no others upon any pretence (17). The parliamentary writs in this period directed electors in counties, cities, and boroughs, to chuse, not only the wisest, but the stoutest men (*potentiores ad laborandum*), that they might be able to endure the fatigue of the journey, and of close attendance; it being one great object of the legislature, at this time, to secure the constant attendance of all the members of the house of commons (18). Sheriffs could not be elected; and Henry IV. in the fifth year of his reign, inserted an uncommon clause in his writs, prohibiting all apprentices, or other men of law, to be elected (19). But this was a violent

(12) Prynne's Survey of Parliamentary Writs, vol. 2. p. 134, &c.

(13) Id. *ibid*.

(14) Stat. 23d Hen. VI. ch. 14.

(15) Prynne, Survey of Parliamentary Writs, vol. 2. p. 135.

(16) Rym. Feod. tom. 8. p. 656.

(17) 1st Hen. V. ch. 1.

(18) Prynne, *passim*.

(19) Prynne, vol. 2. p. 123. Walsing. p. 371.

stretch of prerogative; and though it was obeyed, it was not repeated.

The number of boroughs that sent members to parliament in this period was very unsettled, and seems to have depended very much on the pleasure of the sheriffs of the several counties. There is the clearest evidence, that the sheriffs of the same county sent precepts to, and made return from, sometimes more and sometimes fewer boroughs, without assigning any reason for their conduct, that some boroughs to which precepts were sent never elected or returned any members, and some only once, twice, or a few times; that sheriffs, in their returns, sometimes reported, that certain boroughs to which they had directed precepts, had made no returns, and no excuses for their disobedience; and others had excused themselves by pleading poverty (20). These and several other irregularities that might be mentioned, afford sufficient evidence, that the constitution of the house of commons was yet far from perfection; and, in particular, that the number of its members was not ascertained.

Number of
burgesses
uncertain.

Several laws were made in this period for regulating the manner of proceeding in the election of members to the house of commons, and for preventing false returns; for which the reader must be referred to the statute-book, as they are too voluminous to be here inserted (21). But notwithstanding all these laws, some surprising irregularities were practised in elections, of which it will be sufficient to give a few examples. The knights for the large, rich, and populous county of York were chosen, 13th Henry IV. A. D. 1411, and 2d Henry V. A. D. 1414, not by the freeholders, but by the attornies of a few lords and ladies who had great estates in that county; and this irregular practice continued to A. D. 1447, when the freeholders resumed their violated rights (22). Many of the knights, citizens, and burgesses in the parliament that met at Coventry, 38th Henry VI. A. D. 1460, had not so much as the shadow of an election, but

Irregularities in elections.

(20) Prynne's *Brevia Parliamentaria Rediviva*, vol. 3. § 7. p. 223.

(21) See 7th Hen. IV. c. 15. 1st Hen. V. c. 1. 6th Henry VI. c. 4. 8th Hen. VI. c. 7. 10th Hen. VI. c. 2. 23d Hen. VI. c. 15.

(22) Prynne, *Brevia Parliamentaria Rediviva*, v. 3. p. 152—154.

were

were named by the king, in letters under the privy seal, and returned by the sheriffs, who obtained an act of indemnity for that outrageous breach of their trust (23). But that assembly at Coventry was rather a meeting of the heads of a party in the time of a bloody civil war, than a parliament; and all its acts were rescinded the very next year (24).

Abuses of
Sheriffs.

The sheriffs, in this period, were guilty of many great abuses in conducting elections and making their returns. This appears from various monuments, and particularly from the following preamble to an act of parliament, 23d Henry VI. A. D. 1444.—“ Diverse sheriffs of the counties of the realm of England, for their singular avail and lucre, have not made due elections of the knights, nor in convenient time, nor good men and true returned, and sometimes no return of the knights, citizens, and burghesses, lawfully chosen to come to the parliament; but such knights, citizens, and burghesses, have been returned which were never duly chosen, and other citizens and burghesses, than those which, by the mayors and bailiffs, were to the said sheriffs returned. And sometimes the sheriffs have not returned the writs which they had to make, of elections of knights to come to the parliaments; but the said writs have imbisled; and moreover made no precept to the mayor and bailiff, or to the bailiff or baliffs, where no mayor is, of cities and boroughs, for the election of citizens and burghesses to come to the parliament (25).”

Redress for
a false re-
turn.

A candidate who thought himself injured by a false return, did not (if I am not mistaken and misled by the authorities I have quoted) apply to the house of commons for redress, and for the punishment of the sheriff who had injured him, but pursued such other methods as were then pointed out by law and custom. By an act, 11th Henry IV. A. D. 1409, the injured candidate might bring an action before the justices of assize; and if the sheriff was found guilty by the verdict of a jury, he was to be fined 100l. (equivalent to 1000l. at present), to the king, and the member who had been falsely returned

(23) *Parl. Hist.* v. 2. p. 288—292. *Prynne*, vol. 2. p. 141.

(24) 39th Hen. VI.

(25) 23d Hen. VI. c. 14.

to lose his wages (26). By another act, 8th of Henry VI. A. D. 1429, a sheriff found guilty of a false return, besides paying the above fine, was to be imprisoned a whole year (27). By a third act, 23d Henry VI. 1444, a convicted sheriff, besides the above fine, was to pay rool. to the injured candidate, or any other person who sued for it (28). This was a very severe law, as it subjected a sheriff to a fine equivalent to 2000l. besides a whole year's imprisonment; but the reason of this severity seems to have been, that parliaments were then so short, that a member deprived of his seat by a false return could hardly ever recover it in time. Electors and candidates who thought themselves injured, sometimes applied by petition to the king for redress (29).

All the members of the house of peers always attended parliaments at their own expence, that being one of the services they were obliged to perform for the baronies they held of the crown. But as soon as the smaller tenants of the king *in capite*, or freeholders, were permitted to appear by representatives, they were subjected to pay the expences or wages of these representatives. This custom, of representatives receiving and their constituents paying wages, commenced with the commencement of representation, from a principle of common equity, without any positive law; and on that footing it continued from 49th Henry III. A. D. 1265 to the 18th Richard II. A. D. 1394, when a law was made to remove some doubts that had arisen about the persons bound to contribute to the payment of the wages of the representatives of counties (30). The wages of knights of shires were always higher than those of citizens and burgeses, because they were really persons of a higher rank, and lived in a more expensive manner. For more than a century the wages of the members of the house of commons were sometimes higher and sometimes lower; but at length, in the reign of Edward III. they became fixed to 4s. a day for a knight of a shire, and 2s. a day for a citizen or burges, and continued at that rate as long as they continued to be paid (31). Nor was this at

(26) 11th Hen. IV. c. 1.

(28) 23d Hen. VI. c. 14.

(30) Prynce, vol. 4. p. 409.

(27) 8th Hen. VI. c. 7.

(29) Prynce, vol. 3. p. 157.

(31) *Id. ibid.* p. 78. *et passim.*

first an incompetent sum, as 4s. then was equivalent to 40s. at present. The proudest and most opulent knights thought it no dishonour to receive their wages, and even to sue for them; and no man in those times imagined that this custom ever could or would be changed, as it was so reasonable, and productive of so many good effects; particularly it engaged the attendance of all the members to the very last day of every session, because those who did not attend from the first to the last day received no wages; and their negligence could not be concealed from their constituents. Accordingly we often find all the members present, and receiving writs for their expences at the dissolution of a parliament (32).

Privileges.

As the members of the house of commons received wages for their services, so they enjoyed certain privileges, to enable them to earn their wages, by performing their services. Their own persons, therefore, and the persons of their necessary servants and attendants, were secured from arrests, in going to, attending upon, and returning from parliament; but not in the intervals between one session of parliament and another. In a word, their pay, their privileges, and their services, commenced and ended at the same time, i. e. they commenced as many days before the beginning of a session as enabled them to travel from their own houses to the place where the parliament was to meet; they continued during the continuance of the session, and as many days after as enabled them to return home, and not one day longer (33). When the commons imagined that any of their number had been deprived of their privileges, they applied, by petition, to the king, or house of lords, or to both, for redress; of which we meet with many authentic proofs and examples in the work quoted below (34). These petitions were sometimes unsuccessful, as appears from the famous case of Thomas Thorpe, speaker of the house of commons, A. D. 1452 (35).

Convocations.

Convocations were always summoned to the same place, at the same time with parliaments, by writs directed to

(32) See Prynne's Register of Parliamentary Writs, vol. 4. *passim*.

(33) Id. *ibid.* vol. 5. p. 625—699.

(34) Id. *ibid.* p. 678—690. 742. 730. 736—744. 747—751. 766—776. 850—853.

(35) Id. *ibid.* p. 678—690.

the archbishops and bishops, commanding them to attend in person, to consult with the other prelates and nobles; enjoining them also to issue precepts to their deans and chapters, their archdeacons and clergy, requiring the deans and archdeacons to attend in person, each chapter to send one proctor, and the clergy of each diocese to send two proctors, "to consent to those things which should be ordained by the common council of the kingdom (36)." This was the uniform tenor of the clerical writs in this period; and as the deans, archdeacons, and proctors of the inferior clergy, had only a power of consenting, and not of consulting, it is not probable that they were now considered as members of the house of commons; though in the parliament of Ireland (which was originally formed on the model of that of England) they continued to be members of the house of commons long after this, till they were excluded by an act of parliament, 28th Henry VIII. A. D. 1536, because they supported the authority of the pope, and obstructed the reformation of the church (37). The proctors of the clergy, however, received wages from their constituents, and enjoyed all the other privileges of the members of the house of commons (38). The clergy still continued to grant their own money in their convocations; but their grants were not effectual till they were confirmed in parliament (39).

The clergy of England had great influence in all the public councils of the kingdom, and particularly in parliament, in this period. This was not so much owing to their superiority in learning and sanctity, which they did not very much affect, as to their constant residence in the kingdom, and presence in these councils, while the nobles and great men were engaged in warlike expeditions into France or Scotland. Besides all the archbishops and bishops, twenty-five abbots and two priors were summoned to every parliament, and sometimes many more, which made the spiritual lords generally double the number of the temporal lords in the house

(36) Dugdale's Summons to Parliaments, *passim*.

(37) Prynce, vol. 4. p. 596.

(38) Id. *ibid*. p. 437. 599. Statutes, 8th Henry VI. ch. 1.

(39) Prynce, p. 594, 595.

of peers (40). This enabled the prelates to procure sanguinary laws against heretics, and to secure the immense possessions of the church, together with all her absurd errors and wretched superstitions, from all attacks (41).

Method of
making
laws.

One of the most important changes in the method of conducting business in the parliament of England, that occurred in the course of this period, was in the manner of framing laws or acts of parliament. In the former period, “the commons, towards the conclusion of every session, presented, in the presence of the lords, certain petitions, for the redress of grievances, to the king, which he either granted, denied, or delayed. Those petitions that were granted were afterwards put into the form of statutes, by the judges and other members of the king’s council, inserted in the statute-roll, and transmitted to sheriffs, to be promulgated in their county-courts (42).” This was certainly a very loose inaccurate method of conducting a business of so much importance; and the commons complained that some of the statutes did not correspond to their petitions, nay that some statutes appeared in the statute-roll for which they had not petitioned, and to which they had never given their consent (43). To prevent such dangerous abuses, the commons began to draw up their petitions in a more correct manner, and at greater length, than formerly, in the reign of Henry V. and saw them formed into acts, by the judges, before the session ended. In the next reign, they became still more expert in business, and drew up their petitions in the form of bills or acts, as they wished them to be passed into laws; and when all these acts prepared in one session had been examined and agreed to by the lords, and had received the royal assent, the enacted clause was prefixed to the whole system, most commonly in these or such words as these:—“The king, by the advice and assent of the lords spiritual

(40) Prynn’s Register of Writs, vol. 1. p. 141.

(41) 1st Hen. IV. ch. 15. 2d Hen. V. ch. 7. Walsingham, p. 371.

372.

(42) See vol. 4. ch. 3. §4.

(43) Id. ibid.

“ and temporal, and at the special request of the commons, hath ordained and established certain ordinances and statutes (44).” This was a great improvement in the art of legislation, which advanced by very slow degrees towards perfection.

The sessions of parliament were still very short ; and many of them had only one, and a few of them above two or three sessions. The last parliament of Richard II. which may also be called the first of Henry IV. sat only one day, September 30, A. D. 1399 ; and in that short session, deposed one king, and placed another on the throne ; which hasty transaction was productive of many calamities, and brought the kingdom to the brink of ruin (45). The two longest parliaments in this period were those of the 8th Henry IV. A. D. 1407, and 23d Henry VI. A. D. 1446 ; the former of which sat, in three sessions, 159 days, and the latter, in four sessions, 178 days : but both the members and their constituents complained of the length of these parliaments ; the members, for being so long detained from their business and diversions in the country, in which they delighted ; and their constituents, on account of the wages of their representatives, which amounted to considerable sums (46). The wages, for example, of the two knights of the shire for Cumberland, in the first of these parliaments, amounted to 80*l.* 8*s.* equivalent to 800*l.* at present ; because, besides the 159 days that the three sessions lasted, they were allowed wages for forty-two days for their three journeys (47).

About fifty systems or bodies of laws were made, in so many different sessions of parliaments, in the course of this period, some of them containing only a few, and others of them between twenty and thirty statutes, on too great a variety of subjects to be here enumerated (48). Some of them were intended to explain, amend, or revive former laws, and others in affirmance of the common law, or for supplying its defects, by inflicting severer penalties

(44) Blackstone's Commentaries, vol. 1. p. 175. Statutes at large, vol. 1. *passim*.

(45) Pryne, vol. 4. p. 499, 450. Walsingham, p. 359.

(46) Pryne, vol. 4. p. 482. 526. Hollingshed, p. 531.

(47) Pryne, vol. 4. p. 478.

(48) See Statutes at large, vol. 1, 2.

on certain crimes, and providing new remedies for new disorders. It seems still to have been a prevailing opinion in the first part of this period, that the authority of laws was weakened, if not destroyed, by the death of the prince under whom they had been made; and therefore both Henry IV. and Henry V. soon after their accession, confirmed the great charter, and the charter of the forests, with all other laws that had not been repealed (49). But though these two famous charters were thus twice confirmed in this period, it was only in common with all other statutes; and it plainly appears, that they were not so much insisted upon, or attended to, by the people of England, as they had been when the remembrance of them was more recent. Some severe, or rather cruel laws, were made by Henry IV. and Henry V. against the followers of Wickliffe, who were called heretics and Lollards; and, when convicted, were consigned to the flames (50). These laws were probably procured by the influence of the clergy, whose favour was much courted by both these princes. Additional powers were granted to justices of the peace; and various laws were made for regulating their qualifications and proceedings (51). The statutes of this period were very unfriendly to strangers who traded or settled in England, particularly to the Welsh and Irish (52). Some excellent laws for the regulation and encouragement of trade and manufactures were made in the reign of Edward IV. who was himself one of the greatest merchants in Europe, and paid great attention to commerce (53). The statutes of Richard III. were the first that were expressed in the English language, all former statutes having been either in Latin or French; which were not understood by the great body of the people, or even by many of the legislators (54). These were also the first statutes of England that were printed. But as many of the statute-laws of this period have been effectually repealed by length of time and

(49) Statutes, 1st Henry IV. ch. 1. 4th Hen. V. ch. 1.

(50) 2d Hen. IV. ch. 15. 2d Hen. V. ch. 7.

(51) 4th Hen. IV. ch. 9. 5th, ch. 10. 13th, ch. 7. 2d Hen. V. ch. 4. 2d Statutes, ch. 1. 2d Henry VI. ch. 9. 6th, ch. 3. &c. &c.

(52) 2d Hen. IV. ch. 16. 4th, ch. 16-34. 9th, ch. 3. 1st Hen. V. ch. 6. 4th, ch. 6. 1st Hen. VI. ch. 3. &c. &c.

(53) See stat. Edw. IV.

(54) See stat. Rich. III.

change of circumstances, as well as by subsequent statutes, it doth not seem to be necessary to give a more particular account of them in a general history (55).

The courts of law in England continued nearly on the same footing in this as in the former period. The number of judges in the courts at Westminster was not yet fixed; as, in the reign of Henry VI. there were sometimes five, six, seven, and at one time eight judges, in the court of common pleas (56). The ancient salaries of these judges were very small, viz. to the chief justice of the king's bench, 40*l.* a year, to the chief justice of the common pleas, 40*l.* and to each of the other judges in these two courts, 40 marks. Henry VI. by letters patent, granted an additional salary,—to the chief justice of the king's bench, of 180 marks, or 120*l.* which made his whole salary 160*l.* equivalent to 1600*l.*—to the chief justice of the common pleas, of 93*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* which made his whole salary 130*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* equivalent to 1300*l.*—to each of the other judges, 110 marks, which made the whole salary of each judge 100*l.* equivalent to 1000*l.* at present. Besides these salaries, each judge had a certain quantity of silk, linen cloth, and furs, for his summer and winter robes, out of the royal wardrobe, or an equivalent in money. All these judges were also justices of assize, for which each had a salary of 20*l.* equivalent to 200*l.* What other perquisites or profits were annexed to their offices (which they held only during pleasure) I have not discovered. The winter-robes of each judge cost 5*l.* 6*s.* 11*d.* h. equivalent to 53*l.* 10*s.* and his summer-robes 3*l.* 3*s.* 6*d.* equivalent to 31*l.* 15*s.* The annual salary of the attorney-general was only 10*l.* equivalent to 100*l.* He was allowed only one robe, worth 1*l.* 6*s.* 11*d.* equivalent to 13*l.* 10*s.* All the judges and the attorney-general presented a petition to the king in parliament, A. D. 1439, complaining that their salaries were too small, and ill paid; and that, if they did not obtain redress, they would be obliged to resign their offices. It doth not appear that they obtained any addition;

Judges and
their sala-
ries.

(55) See many ingenious remarks on the statutes of this period, in the Hon. Judge Barrington's Observations on the Statutes,

(56) Dugdale's Origines Juridicales, p. 39.

but an act was made, that they should be regularly paid, twice a year, by the clerk of the Hanaper (57). When a judge was admitted into his office, he took a solemn oath, "That he would not receive any fee, pension, gift, reward, or bribe, of any man having sute or plea before him, saving meat and drink, which should be of no great value (58)."

Corrupt administration of justice.

Great and just complaints were made, in this, as well as in former periods, of the corrupt and imperfect administration of justice. This was owing to several causes, besides the insufficient salaries and precarious situation of the judges. Maintenance, as it was called, still prevailed; by which great numbers of people confederated together, under one head, whose livery they wore, to defend each other in all their claims and pleas, whether they were just or unjust. These confederates laid all the peaceable people around them under contribution, not to harass them by vexatious law-suits (59). The exemptions which the clergy claimed from the jurisdiction of the civil courts, made it almost impossible for the laity to compel their spiritual guides to do them common justice by a legal process. The great number of sanctuaries in all parts of the kingdom, protected many from the punishment due to their crimes, and from the payment of their debts. Perjury was a reigning vice in this period: and we are told by the prelates and clergy of the province of Canterbury, in convocation, A. D. 1439, that great numbers of people had no other trade but that of hiring themselves for witnesses, or taking bribes when they were on juries (60). But the violent factions, and cruel civil wars, of those times, were the greatest obstacles to the regular impartial administration of justice. The truth is, the people of England, in this period, were frequently under a kind of military government; and the high constable was invested with authority to put the

(57) Dugdale's *Origines Juridicales*, p. 105—110.

(58) *Portefeuille de Hautibus Legum Anglie*, c. 51. Statutes, A. D. 1344.—The whole fees or salaries of the treasurer of England, keeper of the privy seal, the judges of both benches, the baron of the exchequer, and other officers of these courts, A. D. 1421, amounted only to 3000*l.* equivalent to 30,000*l.* at present. *Rym. Fœd.* tom. 10. p. 113.

(59) *Wilkin. Concil.* tom. 3. p. 534.

(60) *Id.* *ibid.*

greatest subjects in the kingdom to death, without noise, or so much as observing the forms of law, whenever he was convinced in his own mind that they were guilty, as appears from an article in his commission, quoted below (61). This extraordinary commission was sometimes executed in its full extent; and several persons of high rank were put to death, without any inquiry after evidence, as our readers must have observed. But when the constable wished to have some appearance of proof, and could not obtain it in any other way, he sometimes had recourse to torture. Of this it may be proper to give one example. One Cornelius Shoemaker, being seized at Queenborough, A. D. 1468, and letters found upon him from queen Margaret, then in France, he was tortured by fire, to make him discover the names of the noblemen and gentlemen who corresponded with the exiled queen (62). The famous rack in the tower of London, called the *duke of Exeter's daughter*, because invented by that duke when he was constable, is well known.

But if justice was not well administered in this period, Lawyers and attornies. it was not owing to a want or scarcity of lawyers or attornies. According to the account given us by sir John Fortescue, chief justice of the king's bench in the reign of Henry VI. there were no fewer than 2000 students of law, in the inns of chancery and the inns of court, in his time (63). Attornies had become so numerous about the same time, in some parts of England, particularly in Norfolk and Suffolk, that an act of parliament was made, 33d Henry VI. A. D. 1455, restricting their number in these two counties to fourteen, six in each county, and two in the city of Norwich (64).

The following description of the common law in this period, taken from the learned historian of that law, is, Common law. I believe, both the best and shortest that can be given.

“ Touching the reports of the years and terms of

(61) *Plenam potestatem et auctoritatem damus et committimus ad cognoscendum et procedendum in omnibus et singulis causis et negetis de et super crimine læsæ majestatis, seu ipsius occasione, cæterisque causis quibuscunque,—summarie et de plano, sine strepitu et figura judicii, &c.* Rem. Pœd. tom. 11. p. 582.

(62) W. Wyrcester, p. 515.

(63) Fortescue de Laudibus Legum Angliæ, ch. 49.

(64) Statute, 33d Hen. VI. ch. 7.

“ Henry IV. and Henry V. I can only say, they do not
 “ arrive, either in the nature of the learning contained
 “ in them, or in the judiciousness or knowledge of the
 “ judges and pleaders, nor in any other respect arise to
 “ the perfection of the last twelve years of Edward III.
 “ But the times of Henry VI. as also of Edward IV. and
 “ Edward V. were times that abounded with learned
 “ and excellent men. There is little odds in the useful-
 “ ness and learning of these books, only the first part of
 “ Henry VI. is more barren, spending itself much
 “ in learning of little moment, and now out of
 “ use; but the second part is full of excellent learn-
 “ ing (65).”

Court of
 chancery.

Though that remarkable singularity in the English constitution, the court of equity in chancery, is not of great antiquity, it is not easy to trace it to its origin, or to discover the precise time and occasion of its establishment. It is most probable that it was introduced by certain steps and practices, which slowly and insensibly led to such an institution. In former times, when a person thought himself greatly injured by a sentence of the supreme courts of law, he applied, by a representation of his case, and a petition for redress, to the king, the fountain of justice. After our kings desisted from administering justice in such cases in their own persons, these representations and petitions were commonly, and at length constantly, referred to the lord chancellor, the keeper of the king's conscience, one of the greatest officers of the crown, and wisest men in the kingdom. By a long continuance of this practice, the chancellor came to be considered, both by our kings and their subjects, as the officer whose province it was to mitigate the rigorous sentences of strict law, by the milder decisions of equity and mercy. John Waltham, bishop of Salisbury, and chancellor to Richard II. invented, it is said, the writ of *subpœna*, returnable only in chancery, in order to bring fi offees of land to uses, directly into that court, to make them accountable to those for whose use they held the lands (66). These writs were soon after applied for and obtained in other cases; which greatly increased the bu-

(65) Hale's History of the Common Law, p. 171.

(66) Blackstone, vol. 3. p. 51, 52.

liness of the court of equity in chancery, and gave umbrage to the courts of common law (67). A small check was given to this by an act of parliament, 17th Richard II. A. D. 1393, by empowering the chancellor to give damages to the injured party, when he found that a cause had been brought before him on untrue suggestions (68). This, however, and another still stronger, 15th Henry VI. A. D. 1436, did not satisfy the common lawyers; and the house of commons, at their request, petitioned the king in parliament, 14th Edward IV. A. D. 1474, to suppress the writ of *subpœna*. But that petition was refused; and the court of equity in chancery was fully established, and its business continued to increase (69). All the chancellors of England in this period were clergymen; and this triumph over the courts of common law was chiefly obtained by the influence of the clergy, who had long viewed these courts with an unfriendly eye, as they did not favour their exorbitant claims. For a more particular account of the courts of law than is competent to general history, the reader may consult the excellent work quoted below (70).

The revenues of the kings of England in this period, as well as their charges and expences, may be divided into ordinary and extraordinary. It is not necessary to give a very minute description of the hereditary, stated, and ordinary revenues of the kings of England in this period, as the sources of them have been already enumerated at full length (71). The crown-lands, with the wardships and marriages of those who held of the crown *in capite*, still formed one of the chief sources of its ordinary revenue. The crown-lands, or royal demesnes, in the reign of William the Conqueror, and some of his successors, were of immense extent and great value; and, together with the various prestations of their feudal tenants, were abundantly sufficient to support them in affluence and splendour, with little or no dependence on their subjects. But succeeding princes, by engaging in unnecessary and expensive wars;—by liberal, profuse,

Ordinary
revenues.

(67) Blackstone, vol. 3. p. 51, 52.

(68) Statutes, 17th Rich. II. ch. 6.

(69) Cotton's Records, p. 410. 422. 424. 548.

(70) Judge Blackstone's Commentaries, vol. 3. ch. 4, 5, 6.

(71) See vol. 3. ch. 3. § 1.

imprudent grants;—by founding and endowing monasteries;—and by other means, gradually and greatly diminished the royal demesnes. It is difficult to determine whether those kings who were despised for their weakness and superstition, or those who were celebrated for their valour and ambition, contributed most to produce this effect. The victorious Henry V. not only pawned his crown, his jewels, and his furniture, but alienated so many of the crown-lands, that in the last year of his reign, the remainder of them, with the wardship and marriages of his vassals, yielded only 15,066*l.* 11*s.* 1*d.* equivalent to 150,671*l.* 11*s.* 1*cd.* (72). This fund of the ordinary revenues of the crown sometimes received great accessions, by resumptions and confiscations. Edward IV. after the battles of Barnet and Tewksbury, A. D. 1471, by the confiscation of the great estates of the duke of Somerset, the marquis of Montacute, the earl of Warwick, and all the chief men of the Lancastrian party, “had (to use the words of sir John Fontescue) “livelihood in lordschippis, lands, tenements, and “rents, nerschand to the value of the fifth part of his “realme, above the possessions of the church; by which “livelihood, if it had abyden still in his hands, he had “been more myghty of good revenuz, than any king “that now reynith upon Christen men (73).” He says further, “that if the king had kept all this land, “he “schuld have had lyvelood sufficient for the mainte- “naunce of his estate (74).” At the same time he relates in what manner all that immense accession of landed property was soon alienated, and the king reduced to a state of dependence upon his subjects for extraordinary aids in parliament (75). This constant dissipation of the landed property of the crown was not altogether owing to the imprudent profusion of princes, but was almost unavoidable; because money being very scarce, they had hardly any other way of gratifying favourites, or rewarding services, but by grants of lands.

Customs,
&c.

The several customs and duties on merchandise, though imposed by parliament, were, in this period, reckoned

(72) Rym. Fœd. tom. 10. p. 113.

(73) Sir John Fontescue, on the difference between absolute and limited monarchy, p. 83, 84.

(74) Id. p. 85.

(75) Id. p. 84, 85.

amongst the ordinary stated revenues of the crown, because they were granted to every king, as it were, of course. In that account, delivered to Henry V. at Lambeth, A. D. 1421, by William Kenwolmerth, dean of S. Martin's, London, treasurer of England, all these customs and duties amounted to 40,687l. 19s. 9dh. a-year, equivalent to 406,880l. of our money at present. By that account it also appears, that the whole stated revenue of the crown of England for that year amounted to no more than 55,754l. 10s. 10d $\frac{1}{4}$ d. which (neglecting the fractions) was equivalent to 557,540l. (76). From that very curious account, it is likewise evident, that Henry V. after paying his guards and garrisons—the expences of his civil government—the salaries of the collectors, &c. of his customs—and pensions to dukes, earls, knights, &c. which were charges on his ordinary revenue, had only 35,071l. 13s. 11d $\frac{1}{2}$ d. equivalent to 35,077l. remaining, to defray all the expences—of his household—his wardrobe—his works—his embassies, and various other charges: a sum altogether incompetent to answer those purposes, as the expence of the king's household alone amounted, in those times, to about 20,000l. equivalent to 200,000l. at present (77). The same account also represents, that many of the debts of his father Henry IV. and his own debts contracted when he was prince of Wales, were still unpaid, and that great arrears were owing of salaries and pensions, and to his garrisons, his household, and his wardrobe. From this authentic account of the ordinary revenues of the crown of England, and of the ordinary charges upon these revenues, we need not be surprised that all our kings in this period lived in straits, and died deeply involved in debt, Edward IV. alone excepted. As that prince succeeded to an enemy and an usurper, he paid none of his predecessor's debts. He was a good œconomist, and a great merchant, and used various means to get money with which other kings were unacquainted, besides the large pension from the king of France, which he enjoyed several years.

(76) Fortescue, p. 84, 85. Anderson's History of Commerce, vol. 1. p. 284.

(77) Anderson's History of Commerce, vol. 1. p. 237.

Extraordi-
nary reve-
nuces.

The extraordinary revenues of the crown of England were such as were granted by parliament, not of course, but on particular occasions, to answer particular purposes. These grants were made, upon the application of the king by his ministers, most frequently to defray the expences of a war, for which the ordinary revenues of the crown were quite inadequate. They consisted chiefly of tenths or fifteenths of all the moveable goods both of the clergy and laity, to which the king had no right, till they were voluntarily given him, by the clergy in convocation, and by the laity in parliament. These tenths and fifteenths were paid according to a value set upon every person's goods, by commissioners appointed for that purpose, in every district, both in town and country, and yielded sometimes more, sometimes less, as they were more carefully or more carelessly collected, or as the kingdom was in a flourishing or declining state. The people sometimes endeavoured to avoid paying their due proportion of tenths and fifteenths, by removing their cattle and goods to some distance, before the commissioners came to take an account of them; to prevent which an act of parliament was made, A. D. 1707, that all persons, and particularly foreigners, should pay according to the cattle and goods they had in any place, on the day on which the act for a tenth or fifteenth was passed; and that the district, town, or county, should pay for all the cattle and goods that were removed after that day (78). This made the people spies upon one another. Sometimes parliament granted a tax upon lands and offices above a certain value; sometimes imposed additional duties upon certain commodities for a limited time; and on a few occasions imposed a poll-tax (79). But these extraordinary aids frequently fell short of answering the purposes for which they were given, and added to the difficulties and debts of the prince to whom they were granted. The preservation of Calais and the castles in its little territory, and the defence of the borders against the Scots, were heavy loads on the revenues of the kings of England in this period. These two charges were nearly equal, and (if there is no mistake in the record of the

(78) 10th Hen. IV. c. 7.

(79) Parl. Hist. v. 2. p. 124. 368—372.

transcript) amounted to L. 38,619: 5: 10, equivalent to L. 386,210: 18: 4 (80). In a word, it was the great misfortune of the people of England in this period, that they were almost constantly engaged in war; for though some of these wars were glorious, none of them were advantageous; and most of them were very pernicious to the prosperity of the kingdom—by diminishing population—by obstructing the progress of arts and commerce—and by involving our kings in debt, after they had extorted more money from their subjects than they could well afford to pay. When will ambition listen to the voice of reason and humanity, and permit mankind to enjoy the gifts of nature and providence in peace?

When all the ordinary and extraordinary revenues of the crown proved insufficient to defray the expences of a war, our kings had recourse to various expedients, some of them neither honourable nor lawful, to procure money. Edward IV. for example, not only carried on trade like a common merchant, but also solicited charities, which he called benevolences or free gifts, like a common, or rather like a sturdy beggar. Having expended all the aids granted to him by parliament, in preparing for an expedition into France, A. D. 1475; he sent for all the rich lords, ladies, gentlemen, and merchants, of whom he had procured a list, received them with the most captivating affability, represented the greatness of his necessities, and earnestly entreated them to grant him as great a free gift as they could afford, accompanying his entreaties with smiles and promises, or frowns and threats, as he saw occasion. Being a handsome, gallant, courteous, and popular prince, he was exceedingly successful in his solicitations, particularly with the ladies, and collected a greater mass of money than had ever been in the possession of a king of England (81). This mode of raising money appeared to be so dangerous to the liberties of the kingdom, as well as hurtful to particular persons, who were induced to contribute more than they could afford, that an act of parliament was made against it, 1st Richard III. A. D. 1483; and in the preamble of that

(80) Rym. Fœd. tom. 10. p. 113.

(81) Hist. Croyl. p. 558. Fabian, c. 222. Hall, f. 227. Grafton, p. 719.

act, the pernicious effects of it are painted in very strong colours: "Many worshipful men of this realm, by occasion of that benevolence, were compelled by necessity to break up their households, and to live in great penury and wretchedness, their debts unpaid, their children unpreferred, and such memorials as they had ordained to be done for the wealth of their souls, were anentized and annulled, to the great displeasure of God, and destruction of this realm (82)." Several other pitiful and illegal arts were used by the kings of England, in this period, to extort money from their subjects, which are better buried in oblivion than recorded in history (83).

England a
limited monarchy.

The powers and prerogatives of the kings of England in this period were not distinctly marked or ascertained, and therefore depended in some measure on the character of the king, and the circumstances of the kingdom. In general, however, it may be safely affirmed—that they were very far from being possessed of arbitrary power—that the distinction between an absolute and limited monarchy was perfectly well understood—and that England was a limited monarchy. "There be two kynds of kyngdomys (says sir John Fortescue, who wrote in this period) of which that one ys a lordship, callid in Latyne, *Dominium regale*, and that other is callid *Dominium politicum & regale*. And they dyversin (differ) in that the first may rule his people by such lawys as he makyth hymself; and therefor he may set upon them talys (taxes) and other impositions, such as he wyl hymself, without their assent. The secund may not rule hys people by other lawys than such as they assenten unto; and therefor he may set on them none impositions without their own assent (84)." That great lawyer, in the subsequent chapters of his book, enumerates the advantages that England derived from being a *Dominium politicum & regale*, or a limited monarchy; and the miseries that France endured from being a *Dominium regale*, or an absolute monarchy. It was also understood, that the kings of England could neither re-

[82] Statutes, 1st Rich. III. c. 2.

[83] See Cottoni Pastama, p. 163—202.

[84] Sir John Fortescue, on the difference between an absolute and limited monarchy, c. 1.

peal nor change any standing law of the land by their own authority, without the consent of parliament. "A king of England cannot, at his pleasure, make any alterations in the laws of the land; for the nature of his government is not only regal but political (85)." I am not so certain that it was understood to be a part of the constitution of England in this period, that the king could not interpret the laws, and administer justice to his subjects in person, but only by his judges. This, however, was so much the practice, that I have met with only one exception to it, if it is indeed an exception. Edward IV. in the second year of his reign, sat three days together, during Michaelmas term, in the court of king's-bench; but it is not said that he interfered in the business of the court; and as he was then a very young man, it is probable that it was his intention to learn in what manner justice was administered, rather than to act the part of a judge (86). The same prince, in the 17th year of his reign, A. D. 1477, when the country was over-run with numerous gangs of robbers, accompanied the judges of assize in their circuits; but his design in doing this seems to have been, to prevent the judges from being insulted or intimidated, and to secure the execution of their sentences (87).

But though it was well understood, that the kings of Dispensing England, in this period, had no right to make, repeal, ^{power.} or alter the laws of the land, by their own authority; it is very certain, that they frequently took upon them to dispense with these laws, and to grant permission to particular persons or societies to violate them with impunity. Of this many examples might be given; one of each kind will be sufficient. There was not any one law of England made with greater deliberation and solemnity, or to which the people had a stronger attachment, than that of 16th Richard II. ch. 5. against procuring or purchasing provisions to benefices from the pope; and yet Henry IV. granted a dispensation from that law, by name, A. D. 1405, to Philip bishop of Lincoln, with a permission to procure provisions from the pope for twenty-four discreet and virtuous clerks, graduated or not gra-

(85) Fortescue de laudibus legum Angliæ, cap. 9.

(86) Tressell's Continuation of Daniel's Hist. p. 184. Stowe, p. 416.

(87) Hist. Croyl. a Gale, vol. 1. p. 559.

duated (88). That money was paid to the king for this dispensation, there is little room to doubt; and that the words *discreet and virtuous* were mere words of course, is equally clear; for if the bishop and his clerks had been remarkably discreet and virtuous, they would hardly have desired a dispensation from so good a law. Edward IV. in the second year of his reign, A. D. 1462, made a most extraordinary use of this dispensing power; and, to secure the clergy in his interest, granted them permission to violate all the laws of the land, or rather all the laws of God and man, prohibiting all his judges and officers to try or punish any archbishop, bishop, or other clergyman, for treason, ravishing women, or any other crime (89). But whether this dispensing power, which was carried to such an extravagant length, was considered in those times (as it probably was, and certainly ought to have been considered) as a violent illegal stretch of the prerogative, I have not been able to discover, as I do not remember to have met with any complaints on that subject.

Prerogatives.

Though the feudal system of government, or rather tyranny, that gave so many pernicious prerogatives to the first kings of England after the conquest, had been long declining, and, like an old Gothic castle that had never been repaired, was now almost in ruins; yet our kings, in this period, still retained some of these prerogatives that were very inconvenient and distressful to their subjects, as the wardship and marriages of the tenants of the crown, purveyance, &c. It is, however, evident that these prerogatives were now exercised with much greater lenity than they had been in former times, owing to the greater dependence of our kings upon their subjects. Purveyance, in particular, was limited by various statutes, and reduced within the following bounds. “The king, by his purveyors, may take, for his own use, necessities for his household, in a reasonable price, to be assessed at the discretion of the constables of the place, whether the owners will or not; but the king is obliged by the laws to make present payment, or at a day to be fixed by the great officers of the house-

(88) Rym. Fœd. tom. 8. p. 409.

(89) Wilkin Concil. tom. 3. p. 583.

“hold (90).” It seems to have been an undisputed prerogative of the kings of England in this period, to press, not only sailors and soldiers, but also artificers of all kinds, and even musicians, goldsmiths, and embroiderers, into their service (91). They also naturalized foreigners by their own authority; of which many examples might be produced (92). But it is not necessary to revive the memory of these and the like exploded prerogatives, which, happily both for the crown and country, are now forgotten.

The numerous civil offices, as well as ecclesiastical ^{Offices in} benefices, which the kings of England had in their gift ^{the king's} in this period, added not a little to their power and influence. “The kyng (saith sir John Fortescue, in the reign of Edward IV.) givyth moo than a thousand offices, besydes thoos that my lord prince gyvith, of which I rekyn the officers as the kyng's officers. Of thees officers sum may despend by the yere, by reason of his office, 200 l. some 100 l. some 40 l. some 50 marks, and so downward (93).” These salaries appear contemptible in our eyes; but they were valuable in those times; and the use that might be made of them, for attaching many persons to the interest of the crown, was perfectly well understood. “Sum forester of the king's (saith the same great lawyer and politician, sir John Fortescue), that hath none other livelihood, may bring moo men into the fild, well arrayed, and namely for schoting, than may sum knight, or sum esquire, of right grete livelihood, dwellyng by him, and having none office. What than may grete officers do; as stewards of grete lordschippis, receyvers, constables of castellis, master-foresters, and such other officers; besides the high officers, as justices of forests, justices and chamberleyns of countries, the warden of the ports, and such others?” For soth it is not lightly estimable what might the king may have of his officers, if every of them had but one office, and served none other man but the king (94).”

(90) Fortescue de laudibus, &c. ch. 36.

(91) Rym. Fœd. tom 11. p. 375. 852.

(92) Rym. Fœd. tom. 10. p. 2. 74.

(93) Sir John Fortescue on the difference between an absolute and limited monarchy, ch. 17.

(94) Id. ibid.

King *de facto*, &c.

The distinction between a king *de facto* and a king *de jure*, was first known in law in this period; and Edward IV. gave an illustrious proof, both of his wisdom and humanity, in confirming, by the very first statute in his reign, all the deeds and acts of his three predecessors of the house of Lancaster (with a few exceptions) though they were, he declares, only kings in fact, and not of right. How many noble families would have been preserved from ruin, if such a law had been made at the beginning of this period!

England
best govern-
ed.

To conclude: Though the constitution, government, and laws of England, had not yet arrived at that excellence to which they have since attained, they were considerably improved in the course of this period, and were really better than those of any other state in Europe at that time. To demonstrate this, was the chief object of that learned and virtuous statesman sir John Fortescue, in his curious work in praise of the laws of England; and it is confirmed by the testimony of one of the most intelligent foreigners who flourished in those times (95). Philip de Comines, after describing the disorders that reigned in the governments of France, Germany, and Italy, and the cruel oppressions under which the people of all these countries groaned, concludes in this manner:—"In my opinion, of all the states in the world that I know, England is the country where the commonwealth is best governed, and the people least oppressed (96)." May the inhabitants of this happy island ever enjoy, and never abuse, this most desirable of all distinctions!

(95) Sir John Fortescue *de laudibus legum Angliæ, passim*.

(96) Philip de Comines, b. 5. ch. 18.

SECTION

SECTION II.

*History of the Constitution, Government, and Laws, of
Scotland, from A. D. 1400, to A. D. 1488.*

FOR many years before the untimely death of Alexander III. A. D. 1286, and of his grand-daughter Margaret, commonly called *The Maiden of Norway*,^{state of Scotland in the 14th century.} heiress of his dominions (who survived him only four years), Scotland enjoyed as much prosperity and peace, with as good government and laws, as any kingdom in Europe in those times. But after these events, that unhappy country suffered a sad reverse of fortune, fell into the most deplorable disorder and confusion, and became the scene of a long series of the most destructive wars, which threatened it with desolation. This was owing—to the disputed succession to the throne;—to its situation in the same island, with a much greater, more opulent, and more powerful kingdom;—and to the ambition of Edward I. and Edward III. two of the most warlike kings of England, who ardently desired to subject it to their authority. In the course of this long and bloody struggle, Scotland was frequently over-run, and in appearance subdued; but the spirit of its inhabitants was invincible, and baffled all the efforts of their too powerful neighbours to deprive them of their independency. In these circumstances no improvements in legislation could be expected; which is the reason that the account given in the fourth volume of this work, of the constitution, government, and laws of Scotland, in the fourteenth century, is so short and unsatisfactory. What did not exist could not be described.

The circumstances of Scotland in the first twenty-four years of our present period, were no better in this respect than they had been in the former. It was then governed (if it can be said to have been governed) by two successive regents, who made no new laws, and had not authority to execute the old. The last of these regents,

Murdoch duke of Albany, was univerſally contemptible, and had little or no authority even in his own family. When James I. therefore, returned from his long captivity in England, and mounted the throne of his anceſtors, A. D. 1424, he found every thing in the greateſt diſorder; the laws deſpiſed,—the royal authority almoſt annihilated,—the patrimony of the crown diſſipated,—arts and commerce in a languiſhing ſtate,—the nobles factious and turbulent,—and the people indigent and oppreſſed.

Parliament.

But that excellent prince applied himſelf with equal wiſdom and vigour to remedy theſe diſorders; and his efforts were not unſucceſſful. Without loſs of time he held a parliament at Perth, May 26, in which, and his ſubſequent parliaments, many acts were made that appear to have been well calculated to reſtore the authority of the laws, the prerogatives of the king, the patrimony of the crown, the ſafety and proſperity of the people; of which it will be ſufficient to give a few examples on each of theſe heads.

Authority
of the laws.

For reſtoring the authority of the laws it was enacted, “ by the king, with the aſſent and deliverance of the
“ three eſtates, that all and ſindree the kingis liegis of
“ the realm, leeſ and be governit under the king’s laws,
“ and ſtatutes of the realm (97).” An act that never would have been thought of in a more ſettled ſtate of government; but that was very neceſſary when law, and the obligations to obey it, were almoſt forgotten. By the ſame parliament it was enacted, “ That ſix wyſe
“ men and diſcreit, of ilk ane of the three eſtatis,
“ quhilk knawes the lawis beſt, ſal be choſin, that ſal
“ ſee and examine the buikis of law, that is to ſay,
“ *Regiam Majeſtatem* and *Quoniam Attachiamenta*, and
“ mend the lawis that neidis mendiment (98).” The laſt act of the third parliament of James I. held in March A. D. 1426, eſſectually provided for the promulgation of all the laws that had been made in that and the

(97) Records of Parliament, James I. act 53. Black Acts, f. 9.

(98) Id. act 60.

two preceding parliaments (99). But as the best laws are of little value if they are not properly executed, it was one of the first cares of this wise prince to provide for the due execution of the laws and administration of justice. By the sixth act of his first parliament, "it is ordanit, That thair be maid officiaris and ministeris of law, throw all the realme, that can or may had the law to the king's commonis, and sic as hes sufficientlie of thair awin, quhair throw thay may be punisshit gif thay trespass. And gif ony be infest of sic offices of befoir, and ar not sufficient to minister thairin in proper person, that othoris be ordanit in thair stedes; for the quhilk they that hes sic offices of the king in fee be halden to answer to him gif thay trespass (100)." By these and several other acts, James I. raised law from the dust, and placed her with dignity on the bench.

For reviving the prerogatives of the sovereign, severe laws were made against treason, and all who aided or entertained traitors; against bonds or combinations for resisting the king and his officers in the administration of justice and execution of the laws; against private war; against the crime called *Leefingmaking*, or spreading such defamatory reports of government as had a tendency to disturb the public peace, and create discord between the king and his subjects, &c. &c. (101).

For recovering the patrimony and revenues of the crown, his first parliament granted the greater customs on all goods exported and imported, with the smaller internal tolls at fairs and markets, to the king, for the support of his household (102). The same parliament appointed commissioners to make inquiry, in every shire of the kingdom, what lands had belonged to any of the three preceding kings, David II. Robert II. and Robert III. that such of them as had been alienated by the two regents might be resumed (103). The confiscation of the great estates of the duke of Albany and his sons, brought a great accession of wealth to the

(99) Records of Parliament, James I. act 77.

(100) Id. act 6.

(101) Records of Parliament. Black acts, act 2, 3, 4. 33. 47.

(102) Black Acts, act 8.

(103) Ibid. act 9.

crown, which was further increased by the resumption of the earldoms of March and Strathern.

Oppression
of the
people.

When James I. returned from England, he found the common people of Scotland in great distress, and groaning under hardships and oppressions of various kinds. The country was not only over-run with beggars, but still more cruelly harassed by troops of lawless banditti, called *foriners*, who roamed from place to place, living every where at free quarters, chiefly upon the poor farmers. James I. in his very first parliament, made a very wise law for the regulation of beggars. By that law, if any persons above the age of fourteen, and under seventy, presumed to beg in boroughs without badges from the magistrates, or in the country without badges from the sheriff, they shall be seized, and compelled to labour, under the penalty of being burnt on the cheek, and banished the country (104). To relieve the country from foriners, sheriffs were invested with power to apprehend, imprison, and punish them; and were directed to inquire at every head court if there were any foriners within the shire (105). But this proved an obstinate evil, that subsisted through several succeeding ages, in spite of many severe laws. Finally, by restoring authority to law, and providing for the administration of justice, the common people were protected from many injuries to which they had formerly been exposed; and this excellent prince, in the short space of thirteen years, made great improvements in the government of his kingdom; and would have made still greater, if he had not been cut off, in the prime of life, by the hands of cruel assassins.

James II.

James II. pursued the plan of his illustrious father; and many acts of parliament were made in his reign for the improvement of the constitution, by securing the rights and revenues of the crown, the authority of the laws, and the regular administration of justice; of which it will be sufficient to mention a very few. By repeated acts in the minority of James II. all the lands and goods that had belonged to his father at his death, were secured to him till he arrived at the age of twenty-one

(104) Black Act, c. 27.

(105) Ibid. c. 7.

years (106). After the forfeiture of the great estates of the family of Douglas, a remarkable law was made, A. D. 1455, annexing many castles and lordships to the crown, and declaring them unalienable, without the consent of parliament, because (as it is said in the preamble) "the poverty of the crown is oftentimes the cause of the poverty of the realm (107)." Some severe acts were made for securing the person and authority of the king, and for punishing those who attempted any thing against them, or favoured such attempts (108). The following clause in one of these acts hath been the subject of warm political debates, though it seems to be very plain. "Those that assaillzies castelles or places quhair the kingis person fall happen to be, without the consent of the three estates, fall be punist as traitours (109)." From this clause it is very plain, that the three estates supposed a case might occur when it would be proper for them to command a castle, in which the king's person was, to be assaulted: and the case they had in view most probably was this; when the king had been seized, and was detained by some powerful faction against his will, which too often happened in those turbulent times. The acts that were made in the reign of James II. for establishing the authority of law, and the regular administration of justice, will come more properly under our view in describing the courts of justice. Few laws were made for the improvement of the constitution in the unhappy reign of James III.

The prerogatives of the kings of Scotland, in this Royal prerogatives. period, were the same, in speculation, with those of the kings of England, being, like them, sovereigns of a limited monarchy; but, in fact, they seldom enjoyed so much power. This was owing to the power and turbulence of the great nobility; to the rude state of some parts of their dominions, particularly of the Highlands and islands, where the authority of the king and of the laws

(106) Ibid. f. 27.

(107) Black Acts, f. 34.

(108) Ibid. f. 29, 30.

(109) Ibid. James II. act 25. See account of the rights of the parliaments of Scotland.—Abercromby's Martial Achievements, vol. 2. p. 345.

was but little regarded ; and chiefly to the long and frequent minorities of our kings, as the crown always lost some power when it was worn by a child. It plainly appears from the records, and even from the printed statutes, that the kings of Scotland, in this period, consulted their parliaments on subjects that belonged to their own prerogative ; such as declaring and conducting war ; making peace or truce ; granting pardons ; coining money ; sending ambassadors, &c. (110). But it is probable that they were induced to do this from prudential considerations, and because they stood in need of the personal or pecuniary aid of their subjects, on all these occasions. None of the kings of Scotland, in this period, attempted to impose the smallest tax without the consent of parliament.

State of
parliament.

As all these improvements in the constitution, government, and laws of Scotland, were made by the advice and authority of parliaments, it is proper to give a short and plain description of those assemblies in this period. The original records, or rather minutes, of many of these parliaments are still extant ; and though they are in general very short and unsatisfactory, it is from them the following description is chiefly taken.

Three estates.

Though all the members of the parliaments of Scotland sat in one house, they were of three different orders in society, which were called the three estates. The first of these estates was composed of the archbishops, bishops, abbots, priors, and a few other dignitaries of the church. The second estate consisted of the dukes, earls, lords of parliament, barons, and freeholders. The commissioners of boroughs formed the third estate (111). It appears from the rolls of parliament, that the members of the first and second estates were far more numerous than those of the third ; and being also of higher rank and greater power, they had, no doubt, proportionably greater influence ; and it is not improbable, that a consciousness of their own insignificance

(110) See Records of Parliament.—Black Act, James I. act 25. 50. James II. act 15. 34. 51. 62. James III. act 22. 55. 56. 62. 90. 111, 112. 126.

(111) Records, *passim*.

was the reason that so few commissioners of boroughs (seldom above fourteen or fifteen) attended any parliament (112). From the same evidence we also find, that very few of the small barons and freeholders attended parliaments in this period, and that these assemblies consisted chiefly of spiritual and temporal lords (113).

It was the king's undoubted prerogative to call parliaments, and to appoint the time and place of their meeting; which he did by sending special letters under his signet to all the prelates and great lords, and by issuing general precepts out of chancery, to be published edictually by the sheriff of every shire, commanding all lords, prelates, barons, freeholders, and commissioners of boroughs, to attend a parliament that was to meet at such a time and place (114). This mode of summoning parliaments is a further indication of the superior importance of the aristocracy, as lords and prelates were summoned both by special letters and by general precepts, and the other members only by general precepts.

We find no vestiges in the records, of speeches made by the king, or any of his ministers, at the opening of parliaments; though it is highly probable that something was said concerning the reasons of calling them, &c. A roll was prepared, containing the names of all who had a right, or rather of all who were bound to appear in parliament, which was called over at the first meeting of every session. Anciently the records only bear, "That all who were able and willing to come were present; that some who were absent had sent excuses; that others were absent without excuse; and that each of these last was fined 10*l.* for his contumacy;" but from A. D. 1478 downward, the names of all who were present are recorded (115).

After the roll was called, the parliament proceeded to appoint three committees, each composed of three members of each of the three estates. The first of these committees was called, the committee *pro articulis advi-*

(112) Ibid.

(113) Records, *passim*.

(114) Records, James III. A. D. 1487. Kames's Essays, p. 58. 64, &c.

(115) Records, *passim*. See a roll of parliament, A. D. 1478, Appendix.

sanctis (on the articles). The business of this committee was, to receive petitions, proposals, and overtures, and to form such of them as appeared worthy of attention into bills to be laid before parliament. This committee was afterwards called "The lords of the articles," and became the subject of much political artifice and contention. The second committee was called *ad judicia* (on judgments), and, like the former, consisted of three prelates, three barons, and three burgesses, who were to sit as judges in all criminal prosecutions that were brought before parliament. The third committee was constituted in the same manner with the other two, and was called *ad causas* (on causes); its members sat as judges in all civil causes that were brought into parliament by appeals from the inferior courts (116). These committees were evidently intended to dispatch the business, and shorten the duration of parliaments; and they were well adapted to answer that intention, as they comprehended the three great branches of parliamentary business; making new laws, and pronouncing judgment in the last resort, in criminal and in civil causes. The committees on judgments and on causes were invested with parliamentary powers, which rendered their sentences final; and the members of them took an oath, to determine according to law and justice (117). The appointment of these three committees finished the transactions of the first day of every parliament; and those members who were not on any of these committees were at liberty to dispose of themselves as they pleased, till matters were prepared for a second meeting.

Aristocracy.

The constitution of the committees on the articles, judgments, and causes, had a great appearance of equity, and seemed to give an equal degree of power and influence to each of the three estates. But that appearance was quite destroyed by another law, that gave a seat and vote in each of these committees to all the lords of par-

(116) See the members of these three committees, A. D. 1478, Appendix.

(117) James I. parl. 6. act 93.

liament who chose to claim them, which threw the whole power into the hands of the aristocracy (118).

As soon as the committee on the articles had prepared their several bills, another meeting of the whole parliament was held, at which these bills were read, debated, and either passed or rejected; after which the parliament was adjourned or dissolved (119). When the committees on judgments and causes had not finished their business before this last meeting, their parliamentary powers were prolonged, till they had determined all the causes that had been committed to them (120). By these contrivances, the sessions of the parliaments of Scotland were rendered very short, and seldom exceeded five or six days. The last session of the last parliament of James III. sat fifteen days, and was the longest I have met with in the records of this period (121).

James I. formed a design of dividing his parliament into two houses, in imitation of that of England. With this view he obtained an act of his seventh parliament, A. D. 1427, containing the following clauses:—"1. That the small baronis and free tenentis need not to come to parliamentis, swa that of ilk shierisdome thair be send, chosin at the heid court of the shierisdome, twa or maa wyse men, after the largenes of the shierisdome, outane the shierisdoms of Clackmannan and Kinrossie, of quhilkes ane be send of ilk ane of thame, the quhilk fall be callit *commissaris of the shire*. 2. The quhilk commissaris sal have full and hail power of all the laif of the shierisdome, under the witnessing of the shereffis seill, with the seilles of divers baronis of the shire, to heir and treity, and finally to determine, all causes to be proponit in counsal or parliament. 3. Be thir cominissaris of all shires sal be chosen ane wyse man and expert, callit the *commoun speikar of the parliament*; the quhilk fall propone all and findrie neidis and causes pertening to the commounis in the parliament. 4. The commissaris and speakaris sal have costage of thame of ilk shire that aw comperance in parliament (122)." This very remarkable

Second session.

Attempt to form two houses.

(118) See Records.

(119) Records, *passim*.

(120) Records, *passim*.

(121) See Records.

(122) James I. parl. 7. act 112.

act was evidently copied from the practice that prevailed in England, and was intended to establish a house of commons in Scotland; but unhappily it was never carried into execution. Whether this was owing to the negligence of the freeholders, or to the opposition of the great lords, or to what other cause, we are not informed. By a subsequent law in the reign of James II. A. D. 1457, all freeholders who had not 20l. a year were exempted from attending parliaments, but without any mention of representation (123).

Courts of
law.

The chief courts of law in Scotland, in this period, were not fixed to one place, like those of England, but were ambulatory, and occasionally held in all the different corners of the kingdom, for the accommodation of the lieges. The two committees of parliament already mentioned, called the committees on judgments and on causes, were in reality courts of law, and the highest courts of the kingdom, exercising that supreme and ultimate jurisdiction which is now exercised by the house of peers in the British parliament. These committees or courts met at the same time and place with the parliaments, of which their judges were members.

Session.

Another high court of law, called the *session*, is often mentioned in the monuments of this period. This court had no stated establishment, but was occasionally constituted by parliament for a short time, most commonly for one year. Parliament also named the judges, and appointed the times, places, and duration of the sittings of this court. The judges were also nine in number, three prelates, three barons, and three burghesses, who had neither salaries nor perquisites. The parliament, for example, at Edinburgh, in March, A. D. 1457, appointed three sessions to be held that year; one at Edinburgh, one at Perth, and one at Aberdeen, each to continue forty days; and named the judges in each of these sessions, with the day when each session was to begin (124). The constitution of this court appears to have been very unsettled, and underwent various changes in

(123) James II. act 85.

(124) Records, James II. acts 68, 69, 70.

the course of this period, which need not be mentioned (125).

The office of justiciary was one of the highest offices ^{Justiciary.} in the several kingdoms of Europe, in the middle ages. In England it was abolished, or rather discontinued, because the powers annexed to it were thought to be too great for a subject to possess. In Scotland it was kept up; and the justiciar-general, in this period, was at the head of the law, and the chief dispenser of justice. This great officer, in person or by his deputies, held justice-airs, as they were called, twice a-year, once in the spring, and once in autumn, in every county of the kingdom, at which the sheriff, with all the barons and freeholders of the county, were obliged to attend (126). At these courts was exercised all that jurisdiction that is now exercised by the court of justiciary at Edinburgh, and by the lords of justiciary in their circuits.

The chamberlain was another great officer of the law ^{Chamberlain.} in this period. His jurisdiction was in a great measure, if not altogether, confined to the royal boroughs of the kingdom, in which he held courts, called *chamberlain-airs*. To these courts the magistrates, as well as the inhabitants of boroughs, were amenable; and in them all complaints of the people against their magistrates, or of the magistrates against any of the people, or of one burgh against another, were heard and determined. In them also the chamberlain collected the royal revenues, regulated weights and measures, removed nuisances, and, in a word, took cognizance of every thing respecting the police of the borough where the court was held (127).

When any person thought himself injured by the sentence of a particular chamberlain-court, he could not ^{Court of the four boroughs.} appeal either to the justiciar-general, to the king in council, or even to parliament, but only to the court of the four boroughs, as it was called, which alone had authority to review the sentences pronounced in the

(125) Records James I. acts 72, 73, 74, 75. James III. act 32.

(126) James II. act 5. James III. act 76. Regiam Majestatem, p. 200.

(127) Id. p. 281.

chamberlain-airs. The boroughs whose commissioners composed this supreme court, or little parliament, were anciently, Edinburgh, Stirling, Berwick, and Roxborough; but after these two last fell into the hands of the English, Lanark and Linlithgow were substituted in their places. Each of those four boroughs were obliged by law, "to send three or four of their most discreet burgeses, having lawful commission, to compare personally before the chamberlain at Haddington, they being lawfully summoned to that effect; and there the right or the wrong of the sentences complained of shall be discussed and determined by them. And it is understood, that the decisions of this court of the four boroughs, assembled before the chamberlain, are as available among burgeses as if they had been done in parliament (128)." The reason of this remarkable institution (which was of great antiquity and continued long) seems to have been this,—that burgeses were believed to be the best judges of all the disputes and controversies that arose among burghers.

Hereditary
offices.

The ancient kings of Scotland not only diminished the patrimony of the crown, by improvident grants of land, but they also diminished its just powers and prerogatives, by imprudent grants of various powers, privileges, and jurisdictions, to their favourites, which rendered them too great for subjects, and almost wholly independent. The lords of regalities, for example, had obtained so many exemptions, powers, and privileges, that they were in reality petty kings, and their territories petty kingdoms, locally situated within Scotland, but very little connected with it. These lords had their officers of state, their judges, and their courts, as well as the king; and in these courts they tried all manner of causes, and inflicted all manner of punishments; and, when they pleased, they pardoned the greatest criminals (129). The kings who reigned in this period saw and felt the evils arising from these little kings and little kingdoms included in their dominions, and earnestly desired to mitigate those evils. With this view, James I. obtained several acts of parliament, to compel lords of

(128) *Regiam Majestatem*, p. 267.

(129) See a pardon by the archbishop of St. Andrew's, Appendix.

regalities, and their officers, to execute the laws, and to enable the king to punish them for refusing to do justice (130). James II. proceeded still further, and procured the two following wise and salutary laws, A. D. 1454: "1. That all regalities that are now in the king's hands be annexed to the royalty; and that in time to come there be no regalities granted, without deliverance of the parliament. 2: That there be no office, in time to come, given in fee and heritage (131)." But these excellent laws were soon forgotten; and the hereditary powers and jurisdictions of barons and lords of regality, continued to be a blemish in the constitution of Scotland for about three centuries after these laws were made.

The powers and jurisdictions of Sheriffs, and of the magistrates of boroughs, have undergone so few changes, and are so well known, that they need not be delineated.

(130) James I. acts 104. 105.

(131) James II. acts 46, 47.

THE
HISTORY
OF
GREAT BRITAIN.

BOOK V.

CHAP. IV.

*History of Learning in Great Britain, from the Accession of
Henry IV. A. D. 1399, to the Accession of Henry VII.
A. D. 1485.*

SECTION I.

*State of Learning in Britain, from A. D. 1399, to
A. D. 1485.*

Age of ig-
norance.

THE darkness of that long night of ignorance which overshadowed Europe, from the fall of the western empire to the revival of learning in the sixteenth century, was not equally profound at all times and in all places. In Britain particularly, some gleams of light appeared at different times, as in the age of venerable Bede—of Alcuinus

cuinus—of Alfred the Great—and of friar Bacon (1). But these gleams were neither very bright, nor of long duration; and as soon as the luminaries which produced them were extinguished, the former darkness returned. This is so true, that the present period, though it immediately preceded the revival of learning, was, in Britain, one of the darkest, and furnishes fewer materials for literary history than any former period; for which reason, a very brief delineation of it in this place will be sufficient. No art or industry could render a long, minute detail of the learning of an illiterate people, in a dark age, instructive or entertaining.

As the decline and fall of the western empire were the ^{Greeks in} chief causes of the decline and almost extinction of learn-Italy. ing in all the countries which had composed that empire; so the decline and fall of the empire of the east proved the chief causes of the revival of learning in the west. For when the dissolution of that empire visibly approached, several learned Greeks retired into Italy, to avoid impending ruin; and when its capital, Constantinople, was taken by the Turks, A. D. 1453, a much greater number fled into the same country. There these learned exiles met with a kind reception; and, under the patronage of the Roman pontiffs, and the princes of the illustrious house of Medici, they taught the language and philosophy of the Greeks with great success. It will be a sufficient proof of this to mention the names of a few of their disciples, as Dante, Boccace, Petrarch, Politian, Laurentius Valla, Agricola, John Pecus Mirandula, and Marsilius Fecinus, who were the first restorers of useful and polite learning in the western world (2).

But the progress of reviving science was very slow, and ^{Not in Brit-} for the greatest part of the fifteenth century was almost tain. wholly confined to Italy. Rodolphus Agricola, being by birth a German, after he had studied several years under Theodorus Gaza, one of the most learned of the Greek exiles, returned into his native country A. D. 1482; where he spent the last years of his life in the most strenuous endeavours to inspire his countrymen with a taste for the Greek language (3). But none of those learned ex-

(1) See vol. 2. vol. 3. c. 4: vol. 4. c. 4. § 2.

(2) Bruckler Hist. Philosoph. tom. 4. c. 1, 2.

(3) Id. ibid. cap. 1. p. 34—38.

iles, or even of their disciples, visited Britain in this period, if we except one Cornelius Vitellius, an Italian, who read lectures in New-College at Oxford, and was (according to Polidore Virgil) the first person who taught good letters in that university (4). The effect of these lectures, however, if they produced any, must have been very transient, as that new and better taste in the study of letters, which had so long prevailed in Italy, was little known or regarded in Britain till the beginning of the sixteenth century.

**Causes of
ignorance
in Britain.**

Besides the general causes of the decline of learning in Europe, in the middle ages, which have been already mentioned in this work, there were some particular ones which increased that evil in Britain and some other countries in this period.

Wars.

The distracted, unsettled state of Britain, France, and some other countries, torn by the most furious factions, and kept in continual agitation by wars and revolutions, proved one of the greatest obstructions to the revival and progress of learning. For the wars of those times were not carried on by standing armies, as at present, while the rest of the people pursue their several occupations in tranquillity; but persons of all ranks, the clergy not excepted, were called into the field. Even the universities and seats of learning were frequently scenes of the most violent discord, and their streets were sometimes stained with blood (5).

**Learning
not valued.**

If learning was not despised in this period, it was certainly very little esteemed or honoured; nor was it the most effectual means of procuring preferment even in the church. We meet with frequent complaints of the universities of Oxford and Cambridge to parliament—that all the most valuable livings were bestowed on illiterate men or foreigners, by papal provisions, by which private patrons were deprived of their rights, and the best scholars in the kingdom were left to languish in indigence and obscurity, nay, were sometimes driven to the necessity of begging their bread from door to door, recommended to charity by the chancellors of the universities in which they had studied (6).

(4) Polyd. Virgil, Hist. Ang. p. 600.

(5) Vide Ant. Wood, Hist. Univer. Oxon. Bulxi Hist. Univer. Parisien.

(6) Ant. Wood, Hist. Univer. Oxon. an. 1400. ad an. 1455.

Two of these learned mendicants, we are told, came ^{Example.} to the castle of a certain nobleman, who, understanding from their credentials that they had a taste for poetry, commanded his servants to take them to a well, to put one into the one bucket, and the other into the other bucket, and let them down alternately into the water, and to continue that exercise till each of them had made a couplet of verses on his bucket. After they had endured this discipline for a considerable time, to the great entertainment of the baron and his company, they made their verses, and obtained their liberty (7).

It was a further discouragement to the pursuit of learn- ^{Not re-}
ing in those unhappy times, that as the possession of it ^{warded.} did not promote, so the total want of it did not prevent, preferment; and those who had powerful friends, or much money, though ignorant or profligate in the extreme, were loaded with dignities and benefices. "I knew (said doctor Thomas Gascoigne, chancellor of Oxford, A. D. 1443) a certain illiterate idiot, the son of a mad knight, who, for being the companion, or rather the fool of the sons of a great family of the royal blood, was made archdeacon of Oxford before he was eighteen years of age; and soon after obtained two rich rectories and twelve prebends. I asked him one day what he thought of learning. As for learning, said he, I despise it. I have better livings than any of you great doctors, and I believe as much as any of you. What do you believe? I believe, said he, that there are three Gods in one person, I believe all that God believes (8)."

The long schism in the papacy, from A. D. 1379 to ^{Schism in} A. D. 1449, was no small obstruction to the progress ^{of the church.} of real learning and useful knowledge (9). Those who live in an enlightened age and reformed country, can form no conception of the consternation into which that event threw the whole Christian world, and how much it engrossed the attention of kings, princes, prelates, universities, scholars, and people of all ranks. At a time when it was generally believed that the pope was the sole

(7) Id. p. 225.

(8) Ant. Wood, Hist Univer Oxon. p. 220.

(9) Du Pin, Cent. XIV. c. 4. Cent. XV. c. 3.

head of the church, the only vicegerent of Christ on earth, and had the custody of the keys of the kingdom of heaven, the perplexity of all good catholics could not but be very great, when they saw first two, and then three popes, each asserting, with equal confidence, that he was the only true pope; that his rivals were pretenders, usurpers, schismatics, and heretics; and that they and their adherents would certainly go to the devil. Colleges, universities, and men of learning, neglecting their usual studies, engaged with ardour in this interesting controversy, which threatened the destruction of the church. Several councils were called by the contending pontiffs, to which the principal prelates and greatest doctors of the different parties crowded, and spent many years in public wrangling and private caballing, to very little purpose (10).

Scarcity of
books.

The great scarcity and high price of books still continued to obstruct the progress of learning. None but great kings, princes and prelates, universities and monasteries, could have libraries; and the libraries of the greatest kings were not equal to those of many private gentlemen or country clergymen in the present age. The royal library of France, which had been collected by Charles V. VI. and VII. and kept with great care in one of the towers of the Louvre, consisted of about 900 volumes, and was purchased by the duke of Bedford, A. D. 1425, for 1200 livres (11). From a catalogue of that library, still extant, it appears to have been chiefly composed of legends, histories, romances, and books on astrology, geomancy, and chiromancy, which were the favourite studies of those times (12). The kings of England were not so well provided in books. Henry V. who had a taste for reading, borrowed several books, which were claimed by their owners after his death. The countess of Westmoreland presented a petition to the privy council, A. D. 1424, representing, that the late king had borrowed a book from her, containing the Chronicles of Jerusalem, and the expedition of Godfrey of Boulogne, and praying that an order might be

(10) Du Pin, Cent. XIV. c. 4. Cent. XV. c. 3.

(11) Tableau historique de la Bibliothèque du Roy, p. 6—13.

(12) Histoire de l'Académie Royale, 8vo. tom. 1. p. 385—395. tom. 4. p. 446.

given under the privy seal for the restoration of the said book ; which was granted with great formality (13). About the same time, John, the prior of Christ-church, Canterbury, presented a similar petition to the privy council, setting forth, that the late king had borrowed from his priory a volume containing the works of St. Gregory ; that he had never returned it ; but that in his testament he had directed it to be restored ; notwithstanding which, the prior of Shine, who had the book, refused to give it up. The council, after mature deliberation, commanded a precept under the privy seal to be sent to the prior of Shine, requiring him to deliver up the book, or to appear before the council, to give the reasons of his refusal (14). These facts sufficiently prove, that it must have then been very difficult, or rather impossible, for the generality of scholars to procure a competent number of books. The noble and most useful art of printing, it is true, was invented in the course of this period, and practised in England before the end of it ; but as yet it had contributed very little to increase the number, or diminish the price of books.

One of the most obvious defects in all the authors of ^{Bad taste.} this period, is a total want of taste. This appears both in their language and sentiments almost in every page. The truth is, the art of criticism seems to have been quite unknown and neglected ; and the generality of writers appear to have had no idea of purity of style, or propriety of sentiment ; but contented themselves with clothing such thoughts as occurred, in the most common and vulgar language, without much regard even to the rules of grammar. When they attempted to be pathetic or sublime (as they sometimes did), they never failed to run into the most extravagant bombast. Of this the reader will meet with an example, in a description of the battle of Agincourt, by turning to the Appendix, No. 1.

The arts and sciences that were cultivated in Britain ^{Sciences not} in the middle ages, have been enumerated in the preceding ^{increased.} volumes of this work ; and I know of no addition that was made to the number of them in the present period (15). A very brief delineation, therefore, of such

(13) Rym. Fæd. tom. 10. p. 317.

(14) Id. ibid.

(15) See vol. 3. ch. 4. § 1. ; vol. 4. ch. 4 § 1.

changes as took place in any of these sciences, though generally for the worse, will here be sufficient.

Latin.

Though the Latin language was still generally used by divines, lawyers, philosophers, historians, physicians, and even poets, in their writings, and in all public and private deeds of any importance; yet the knowledge of that language appears plainly to have declined in this period. Venerable Bede, Alcuinus, Roger Bacon, Joseph Iscanus, John of Salisbury, Peter of Blois, &c. were pure and classical writers, in comparison of those who flourished in that part of the fifteenth century which is the subject of this book. These last paid very little regard to the peculiar idiom of the language, and thought they had written very good Latin when they had clothed English phrases in Latin words. Sometimes they could not even accomplish this; and when they could not find a Latin word to answer their purpose, they Latinised an English one. Thus William of Wyrester tells us, that the duke of York returned from Ireland, "*et arrivavit apud Redbanke prope Cestriam*," (and arrived at Redbank near Chester); and John Rous, the antiquarian of Warwick, says, that Thomas Grey, marquis of Dorset, son to queen Elisabeth, widow of Edward IV. and Sir Thomas Grey her brother, were obliged to fly, "*quod ipsi contravissent mortem ducis protectoris Angliæ*," (because they had contrived the death of the duke, protector of England (16). It must not, however, be imagined, that the Latin style of all the British writers of this period was equally barbarous; that of Thomas Walsingham, and a few others, was less exceptionable, though far from being classical.

Greek.

While the Greek language was studied with great assiduity and success in Italy, it was almost quite neglected and unknown in Britain, and even in France, in this period. The famous Grocyne, one of the first revivers of learning in England, left his country, at the age of forty-six, A. D. 1488, and travelled into Italy, to study the Greek language under Chancondilas, one of the eastern refugees; which is a sufficient proof, that the knowledge of that language could not then be ac-

(16) W. Wyrester, p. 483. J. Rossé Hist. p. 213.

quired in Britain (17). There was not so much as one Greek book in the library of the kings of France mentioned above ; and it was not till A. D. 1470 that some of the eastern exiles began to teach Greek in the university of Paris, where it was then (says the historian) almost quite unknown (18).

There were lectures on rhetoric read in the universities of England in this period ; but that art could not possibly flourish, when the learned languages were so ill understood, and the modern languages so imperfect (19). Rhetoric.

It would be improper to spend any time in delineating the state of that scholastic philosophy and theology which still reigned in all the seats of learning, and in the study of which so much time was mispent by so many ingenious men. But even in that line, few or none made any distinguished figure ; and we hear of no irrefragable or angelic doctors who flourished in this period. About the middle of it, indeed (A. D. 1445), a kind of literary prodigy, we are told, appeared at Paris, and defeated all the doctors of that university at disputation. His name was Ferrand of Corduba in Spain ; and though he was only twenty years of age, he was a doctor in all the four faculties, of arts, laws, medicine, and divinity. He was a perfect master, not only of the whole Bible, but also of the works of Nicolas de Lyra, Thomas Aquinas, John Hales, John Duns Scotus, Bonaventure, and other divines, and of the decretals, and other books on the civil and canon law ; as likewise of the writings of Aristotle, Hippocrates, Avicenna, Galen, Albert the Great, and other physicians. He understood and wrote Latin, Greek, Hebrew, and Arabic ; excelled all illuminators, painters, and musicians, in their respective arts ; was knighted for his dexterity in the use of arms ; and foretold future events by his skill in astrology. The Parisian doctors differed in their opinions of this extraordinary person, some asserting that he was a magician, and full of the devil, others affirming that he

(17) A. Wood, *Athen. Oxon.* vol. 1. col. 15.

(18) *Memoires de Literature*, tom. 4. p. 463. 8vo.

(19) Balæi *Hist. Univ. Paris.* tom. 5. p. 692. Wood *Hist. Univ. Oxon.* lib. 2. p. 4.

was antichrist (20). It is not improbable that this young man was possessed of a very extraordinary memory, a facility of acquiring languages, and other accomplishments superior to his years; but great abatements must be made in the above description to intitle it to credit.

Medicine.

Though medicine was now taught and studied in every university, the knowledge of it was rather diminished than increased in this period. Dr. Freind, the learned historian of physic, could not find so much as one physician in England, in those times, who deserved to be remembered, or whose works merited any attention. Dr. Gilbert Kymer, physician to Humphrey duke of Gloucester, composed a medical work, called *Dictarium de sanitatis custodia* (A Dictary for the Preservation of Health), which is still extant. It consists of twenty-six chapters, the third and nineteenth of which have been printed, and contain several curious things, and some very salutary advices to the duke of Gloucester, on a very delicate subject (21). Dr. John Fauceby, physician to Henry VI. pretended to be an adept in the occult sciences, and obtained a commission from that king to discover an universal medicine, called *the elixir of life*, for the cure of all diseases, wounds, and fractures, and for prolonging life, health, and strength of body, and vigour of mind, to the greatest possible extent of time (22). We have no account of the success of this undertaking. The learned reader may see a very full enumeration of the medicines, and medical operations, used by the physicians and surgeons of this period, in the note below, as they are mentioned in a commission granted to the three physicians and two surgeons appointed to attend Henry VI. in that severe illness with which he was seized A. D. 1454 (23).

(20) Pasquier, *Recherches de la France*, p. 579, 580. Buzai Hist. Univer. Parisien. tom. 5. p. 534.

(21) Wyrester, p. 548—558.

(22) Rym. Fœd. tom. 11. p. 579.

(23) In regime medicinalium libere nobis possitis ministrare electuaria, potiones, aquas, sirupos, confectiones, laxativas medicinas, clisteria, suppositoria, caputpurgia, gragarismata, balnea, epithimata, fomentationes, embrocationes, capitis rasuram, unctiones, emplastra, cerota, ventosas cum sacificatione vel sine, emetoidarum provocaciones. Rym. Fœd. tom. 11. p. 347.

An unknown and very violent disease appeared in England towards the end of this period. It was called the *sweating sickness*. In London it carried off two mayors, five aldermen, many other persons of rank and opulence, with a prodigious multitude of the people. It commonly killed those who were seized with it in seven or eight hours; and those who survived twenty-four hours generally recovered (24). It was one of the most singular circumstances of this disease, that Englishmen residing in foreign countries, it is said, were seized with it at the same time, while foreigners residing in England escaped (25). Its symptoms were alarming from the first moment, such as, burning heat, excessive sickness, headach, delirium, unquenchable thirst, vehement pulse, and labouring breath. The physicians had neither skill nor presence of mind to administer much relief to their afflicted patients. This dreadful distemper first visited England A. D. 1483, and repeated its visitations in the following years, viz. 1485, 1506, 1517, 1528, and last of all in 1551 (26).

In those martial times, when the people of Britain were almost constantly engaged in war, we might imagine that the very useful art of surgery would be diligently studied and well understood. But this was not the case. Anatomy, without a competent knowledge of which no man can be a skilful surgeon, was not merely neglected, but abominated as a barbarous violation of the remains of the dead. The number of surgeons in England was very small, and few of them were famous, or much respected for their skill. When Henry V. invaded France, A. D. 1415, with a great fleet and army, he carried with him only one surgeon, Thomas Morstede, who engaged to bring in his company fifteen persons, twelve of them of his own profession, and three of them archers; Morstede was to have the pay of a man at arms, and his twelve assistants the same pay with common archers (27). The same prince found it still more difficult to procure a competent number of surgeons to attend his army in his second expedition into France, and was obliged to grant a warrant to

(24) Continuatio Hist. Croyl. p. 570.

(25) Freind's Hist. Phys. vol. 2. p. 335.

(27) Rym. Fœd. tom. 9. p. 237.

(26) Id. ibid.

the same Thomas Morstede, to press as many surgeons as he thought necessary into the service, with artists to make their instruments (28). In these circumstances, there can be no doubt that many lost their lives for want of proper assistance in their distress. That heroic prince Henry V. himself, it is highly probable, fell a sacrifice to the ignorance of his medical attendants.

Anatomy. The operation of lithotomy for extracting the stone was not unknown to the ancients, but seems to have been disused in the middle ages, and was revived again at Paris A. D. 1474. An archer who was tormented with the stone, being condemned to be hanged for robbery, the physicians and surgeons of Paris represented to the king, that many of his subjects were afflicted with that painful distemper for which they could find no remedy, and prayed that they might be permitted to try the operation of extracting the stone upon the condemned criminal. Their petition was granted: the stone was extracted, and the patient recovered; which encouraged others to submit to the operation (29). But I have not met with any evidence that this operation was performed in England in the present period: for the circulation of literary intelligence was then slow, which formed one obstruction, amongst many others, to the progress of learning.

Mathematics. The mathematical sciences were not wholly neglected in the darkest ages; but they were cultivated with little success, and with improper views. Astrology was so much the study of the mathematicians of those times, that mathematician and astrologer were synonymous terms (30). The pretenders to that fallacious science were loaded with honours and rewards; and in the preceding century, the wisest princes in Europe paid more regard to the responses of their astrologers than to the counsels of their ministers (31). But astrologers began to sink in their credit in the course of this period, some despising them as impostors, and others detesting them as magicians, while too many still revered them as men of the most consummate learning and wisdom. One Arnold de Marents, an astronomer

(28) *Id. ibid.* p. 363.
tom. 18. p. 124.

(29) *Monstrelet*, an. 1474. *Villar*,

(30) *Du Cange*, *voc. Mathematicus*.

(31) *Memoires de Literature*, tom. 4. p. 466, &c. 8vo.

mer, published a book on astrology in France, A. D. 1466, which made a mighty noise. The king sent the book to the university of Paris, requiring that learned body to examine it, and report their opinion. The university appointed certain deputies out of each of the four nations to examine this work; who reported—"That it contained many superstitions, many conjurations, many manifest and horrible invocations of the devil, with several latent heresies and idolatries (32)." In England there was a board of commissioners, consisting of several doctors, notaries and clerks, for discovering and apprehending magicians, enchanters, and forcerers, probably comprehending astrologers (33). When these commissioners had discovered one of these offenders, they procured a warrant from the king for apprehending him, with all his apparatus. It was by virtue of such a warrant that Thomas Northfield, professor of divinity and forcerer, was apprehended at Worcester, A. D. 1432, with all his books and instruments (34).

The science or art of alchymy, which pretended to produce a remedy for all diseases, and to transubstantiate the baser metals into the purest gold and silver, was more encouraged by government in the reign of Henry VI. than any other art or science. In that reign we find many protections given to different alchymists, to secure them from the penalty in an act of parliament made A. D. 1403, and from the fury of the people, who believed that they were assisted in their operations by infernal spirits (35). As these royal protections contain the sentiments entertained by that king and his ministers on this subject, it may not be improper to insert here a translation of the most material part of one of them. "Ancient sages and most famous philosophers have taught, in their books and writings, under figures and emblems, that many notable and most glorious medicines may be extracted from wine, precious stones, oils, vegetables, animals, metals, and semi-

Alchymy.

(32) Buzel Hist. Univ. Paris. tom. 5. p. 678.

(33) Rym. Fæd. tom. 10. p. 852.

(34) Id. ibid. p. 504.

(35) Statutes, 5th Hen. IV. c. 4. Rym. Fæd. tom. 11. p. 68. 240.

“ metals ; and particularly a certain most precious medicine, which some philosophers have named the Mother and Queen of Medicines, some the Inestimable Glory, others the Quintessence, others the Philosopher’s Stone, and others the Elixir of Life. The virtue of this medicine is so admirable and efficacious, that it cures all curable diseases with ease, prolongs human life to its utmost term, and wonderfully preserves man in health and strength of body, and in the full possession of his memory, and of all the powers and faculties of his mind. It heals all curable wounds without difficulty, is a most sovereign antidote against all poisons, and is capable of procuring to us and our kingdom other great advantages, such as the transmutation of other metals into real and fine gold and silver.

“ We frequently revolve in our mind, by long and serious meditation, how delectable and profitable it would be to us and our dominions, if this precious medicine could be discovered, by the blessing of God on the labours of learned men ; and also how that few or none, in former times, have attained to the true method of making this most glorious medicine, partly owing to the difficulties attending the operation, but chiefly because the most learned men have been, and still are discouraged and deterred from the undertaking, by the fear of incurring the penalties in a certain law made in the reign of our grandfather Henry IV. against alchymists.

“ Wherefore it seems right and expedient to us to provide, select, and appoint certain ingenious men, sufficiently skilled in the natural sciences, well inclined and disposed to attempt the discovery of the foresaid medicine, who fear God, love truth, and hate all deceitful, fallacious, metallic tinctures ; and by our authority and prerogative royal to provide sufficiently for the quiet, safety, and indemnity of these men, that they may not be disturbed or injured in their persons or goods, while they are engaged in this work, or after they have finished their labours.

“ We therefore, confiding in the fidelity, circumspection, profound learning, and extraordinary skill in the natural sciences, of these famous men, John

“ Fauceby,

“ Fauceby, John Kirkeby, and John Rayny, elect,
 “ assign, nominate, and license all and each of them,
 “ and of our certain knowledge, and by our authority
 “ and prerogative royal, we, by these presents, grant
 “ to all and each of them, liberty, warrant, power,
 “ and authority, to inquire, investigate, begin, profe-
 “ cute, and perfect the foresaid medicine, according
 “ to their own discretion, and the precepts of ancient
 “ sages, as also to transubstantiate other metals into true
 “ gold and silver; the above statute, or any other sta-
 “ tute, to the contrary notwithstanding. Further, we
 “ hereby take the said John, John, and John, with all
 “ their servants and assistants, into our special tuition
 “ and protection (36).” This curious commission was
 confirmed by parliament 31st May A. D. 1456.

When learning was in so low a state among those of ^{Ignorance} high rank and learned professions, we may conclude ^{of the people} that the common people were totally illiterate. It was ^{plc.} not till the reign of Henry IV. that villains, farmers, and mechanics, were permitted by law to put their children to school (37); and long after that, they dared not to educate a son for the church, without a licence from their lord. But it seems to be quite unnecessary to follow the faint traces of learning any further in this benighted period.

SECTION. II.

*History of the most learned Men who flourished in Britain,
 from A. D. 1399, to A. D. 1485.*

AFTER the account that hath been given of the ^{Few learned} state of learning in Britain in this period, we cannot ex- ^{men.}pect to find many persons in it so eminent for their genius and erudition as to merit a place in the general his-

(36) Rym. Fœd. tom. 11. p. 379.

(37) Statutes 7th Hen. IV. ch. 17.

tory of their country. If many such persons had then existed, they would have dispelled, in some degree, that profound darkness in which their country was involved (1). It is true, that Leland, Bale, Pits, Cave, and Tanner, the writers of our literary history, give us the names of many authors who flourished in this period, with the titles of their works, and assure us, according to their custom, that they were all wonderfully learned. But these boasted authors were for the most part, obscure monks, knavish or deluded alchymists or astrologers, whose works have deservedly sunk into oblivion; nor have I been able to discover so much as one divine, philosopher, or physician in Britain, in those times, who did honour to his country by his writings. It would be easy to fill many pages with the history of many writers who enjoyed, perhaps, some little pre-eminence in their own times, whose names and writings are now as little regarded as if they had never been; but as this could answer no good purpose, it shall be omitted (2).

Historians.

Our historians in this period were not better or more elegant writers than our divines, philosophers, and physicians; but as they have recorded many curious and important facts, in the best manner they could, they have deserved well of their country, and merit some attention. Mr. William Caxton, who was more famous as a printer than as a writer, gives this reason for his writing a continuation of Higden's Polycronicon, from A. D. 1357 to A. D. 1460: "Because mennes wyles
 " in this tyme ben oblyvious lyhtly forgotten many
 " thyngys dygone to be put in memorye; and also there
 " cannot be foundin in these days but few that wryte
 " in theyr regyfters suche thyngis as daily happen and
 " falle (3)."

(1) It is a strong presumptive proof of the truth of that account given in the preceding section, of the declining state of learning in this period, and of the paucity of learned men who flourished in it, that it hath afforded the very well-informed and industrious authors of *Biographia Britannica* only four or five articles; and these, except two, the most insignificant in that valuable work.

(2) See Leland, Bale, Pits, Cave, Tanner, Warton's *Anglia Sacra*, Godwin de *Præfatis Angliæ*.

(3) *Ames's Typography*, p. 32, 33.

Thomas Walsingham, a monk in the abbey of St. Alban's, was unquestionably the best of our historians in this period. His style is indeed, according to his own confession, rude and unpolished; and he relates many ridiculous stories of visions, miracles, and portents: but this was the vice of the age rather than of the man, and must be forgiven to him and others. His narrative is far more full, circumstantial, and satisfactory, than that of the other annalists of those times, and contains many things nowhere else to be found. He compiled two historical works of considerable length. The one he intitled, "A History of England," beginning at the 57th Henry III. A. D. 1273, and concluding with an account of the splendid funeral of Henry V. and the appointment of Humphrey duke of Gloucester to the regency of England. To the other he gave the whimsical name of "Ypodigma Neustriæ," which is a history of Normandy (anciently called Neustria), interspersed with the affairs of England from the beginning of the tenth century to A. D. 1418. In the dedication of this work to Henry V. he tells that prince, that when he reflected on the cunning intrigues, frauds, and breaches of treaties in his enemies the French, he was tormented with fears that they would deceive him; and had composed that work, which contained many examples of their perfidy, to put him upon his guard (4).

Thomas Otterbourne, a Franciscan friar, composed a history of England, from the landing of Brutus the Trojan to A. D. 1420. It is extracted, as he acknowledges, from former historians, as Geoffrey of Monmouth, Venerable Bede, William of Malmesbury, Henry of Huntington, Roger Hoveden, and Higden's Polycronicon, for the benefit of those who could not procure an opportunity of perusing their works. It is certainly not a masterly performance; and yet it ought to be consulted, and affords some useful information in the history of his own times (5).

John Whethamstede, abbot of St. Alban's, wrote a chronicle of twenty years of this period, beginning

(4) See *Candine Anglica, Normannica, &c.* p. 43—592.

(5) T. Otterbourne Hist. a T. Hearn edit. Oxon. 1732.

A. D. 1441, and ending A. D. 1461. It contains many original papers, and gives a very full account of some events, particularly of the two battles of St. Alban's. More than one half of his chronicle is filled with the affairs of his own abbey, to which he was a great benefactor. The most remarkable circumstance in the personal history of this writer, is his longevity. He was ordained a priest A. D. 1382, and died A. D. 1464, when he had been eighty-two years in priest's orders, and above 100 years of age (6).

Elmham.

Thomas de Elmham, prior of Linton, wrote a copious history of the life and reign of Henry V. in a very inflated and disgusting style. But as he was the contemporary of that great prince, and had his information from persons of rank and honour, who were eye-witnesses of most of the events which he relates, his work is valuable (7).

Titus Livius.

The history of Henry V. was also written by one who took the name of Titus Livius, and whose real name is not known. He was an Italian by birth; and not meeting with proper encouragement in his own country, he came into England, and put himself under the protection of Humphrey duke of Gloucester, that munificent patron of learned men, who made him his poet-laureat, and persuaded him to write the history of the late king, his brother. His work is a free judicious epitome of the above history of Thomas de Elmham, leaving out some things, and adding others. In his style, he was a professed, but very unsuccessful, imitator of the great Roman historian whose name he assumed (8).

Bottoner.

William Bottoner, better known by the name of William of Wyrcester, was born at Bristol, and educated at Harts-hall, Oxford, where he was supported by the famous warrior sir John Falstolf, to whom he became a retainer. Our literary historians, who copy one another, tell us, that he was a good mathematician, an expert physician, a great cosmographer, and a famous historian. If he deserved the other characters no better than the last, they were bestowed upon him very improperly. He wrote

(6) *Id.* in prelat. t. 1. 57, 58. tom. 2.

(7) *Th. de Elmham, Vita Hen. V. a T. Hearn edit Oxon. 1727.*

(8) *Tit. Livii Vita Hen. V. a T. Hearn edit. Oxon. 1716.*

Meagre Annals of England, from A. D. 1324 to A. D. 1468, in a most barbarous style; but as they contain some things that are not to be found in any other work, they are of some value, and must be consulted.

John Rous, the antiquary of Warwick, is celebrated John Rous. by our literary historians, as a man of immense learning, and indefatigable industry in collecting materials for a history of the kings of England (9). But when we peruse the work, how greatly are we disappointed? His language is incorrect and barbarous, his credulity childish, his digressions long and frequent, and his narrations of the most important events short and unsatisfactory. He begins his history at the creation, and tells us, amongst other extraordinary things, that Moses mentions only one antediluvian city, which was built by Cain, and called by him *Enoch*, in honour of Enoch, his eldest son; but that the famous man Bernard de Breydenbach, dean of Mentz, writes, that there were eight noble cities built before the flood; and he tells this story in such a manner as to convince us, that he gave as much credit to Bernard de Breydenbach as to Moses (10). But, notwithstanding all its imperfections, this work of John Rous is of considerable use, as he incidentally mentions many curious particulars concerning the state of England, and the manners of its inhabitants, in his own times. He died in a very advanced age, A. D. 1491.

All the authors above mentioned wrote in Latin; but Fabian. Robert Fabian, a merchant and alderman of London, wrote a chronicle of England and France, called, *The concordance of stories*, in the English of his age, which is very intelligible. It is divided into seven parts, the first beginning at the arrival of Brutus, and the last ending at the 20th Henry VII. A. D. 1504. The histories of England and France are intermixed, but given in distinct chapters. This work is valuable for the plainness and sincerity with which it is written; for the lists, first of the bailiffs, and afterwards of the mayors and sheriffs of London; and for many other particulars relating to that great city (11).

(9) Leland, p. 473. Tanner, p. 643.

(10) J. Rossi Historia Regum Anglorum, p. 1.

(11) Fabian's Chronicle, printed by W. Rastall, 1633.

Other historians.

Some other chroniclers lived and wrote in this period, particularly John Harding and William Caxton, whose works have been printed; but those who expect much information or amusement in the perusal of them will be disappointed. The writers and lovers of English history are much more indebted to the labours of three French gentlemen, sir John Froissart, Philip de Comines, lord of Argenton, and Dengueran de Monstrelet, who give more full and circumstantial relations of many transactions than any of our own contemporary historians.

Lawyers.

Though the law colleges in London, commonly called the *inns of court and chancery*, were crowded with students of law in this period, few gentlemen of that profession made a distinguished figure as authors, if we except sir Thomas Littleton and sir John Fortescue, who have merited a place in the history of their country by their learned labours.

Littleton.

Sir Thomas Littleton, descended of an ancient and honourable family in the county of Worcester, when of a proper age, and duly qualified, became a student of law in the inner temple (12). After he had been some time at the bar, and his abilities were known, he was promoted, first to be judge of the marshalsea court, made king's serjeant and justice of Assize, A. D. 1455, and one of the judges of the court of common pleas, A. D. 1466, having conducted himself with so much moderation and prudence in those difficult times, as to possess the favour of the contending families of Lancaster and York. Our judge, at his leisure hours, composed his learned and useful work on English tenures of lands, to which he is indebted for that fame which he hath long enjoyed, and will probably much longer enjoy. This learned judge died in an advanced age, August 23, A. D. 1481, leaving three sons to share his ample fortune (13).

Fortescue.

Sir John Fortescue was the great ornament of his honourable profession, and one of the most learned and best men of the age in which he flourished. Being the third son of sir Henry Fortescue, lord chief-justice of Ireland, he was early intended for the law, and at a proper age entered a student in Lincoln's-inn, where he soon became

(12) Fortescue de Laudibus Legum Angliæ, ch. 49.

(13) See Biographia Britannica, vol. 5. p. 2975.

famous for his superior knowledge, both of the civil and common law. When he was reader in that society, his lectures were attended by crowded audiences, and received with great applause (14). He was made a serjeant at law A. D. 1430; appointed king's serjeant A. D. 1441; and raised to the high office of chief-justice of the king's-bench A. D. 1442, in which he presided many years with great wisdom, dignity, and uprightness. As the chief-justice was steady in his loyalty to his sovereign, Henry VI. he shared in his misfortunes, and was attainted of high treason by the first parliament of Edward IV. A. D. 1461, after he had fled into Scotland with his unfortunate master (15). It was probably there that he was created lord Chancellor of England, an office which he never had an opportunity of exercising. Having retired into France A. D. 1463, with queen Margaret, and her son Edward prince of Wales, he remained there several years, assisting them with his councils, and superintending the education of that hopeful young prince. It was for his instruction, to give him clear and just ideas of the constitution of England, as a limited and legal, and not an absolute monarchy, that he composed his admirable little treatise, *De laudibus legum Angliæ*; which, for the excellence of its method, the solidity of its matter, and the justness of its views, excels every work on that subject, in so small a compass, and must endeavour the memory of this great and good man to every friend of our happy constitution. This excellent treatise, after remaining too long in obscurity, was printed, and hath passed through several editions (16). Sir John Fortescue accompanied queen Margaret and prince Edward in their last unfortunate expedition into England, and was taken prisoner, after the defeat of their army, at Tewksbury May 4, A. D. 1471. Though Edward IV. made rather a cruel use of his victory, he spared the life of this venerable sage; and, after some time, restored him to his liberty, and probably to his estate, and received him into favour. Sir John, like a wise and good man, acquiesced in the decision of Providence in the fatal contest between the

(14) Bale, p. 613.

(15) W. Wyrcester, an. 1461.

(16) See the well-written life of sir John Fortescue, in *Biographia Britannica*.

houses of York and Lancaster; and, considering the last of these houses as now extinct, he frankly acknowledged the title of Edward IV. to the crown, and wrote in defence of that title. But he still retained the same political principles, and particularly his zealous attachment to a limited and legal government, in opposition to absolute monarchy. This is evident from his excellent treatise, on the difference between an absolute and limited monarchy, which after remaining long in MS. was published by an honourable descendant of the author, A. D. 1714. This treatise is written in English, was designed for the use of Edward IV. and is valuable as a specimen of the English of those times; but much more valuable on account of the many curious particulars it contains concerning the constitution of England, and the condition of its inhabitants (17). I heartily subscribe to the character given of this treatise by a very good judge of literary merit: "Take it all together, and it will appear to be a work which affords as full evidence of the learning, wisdom, uprightness, public spirit, and loyal gratitude of its author, as any that is extant in ours or in any modern language (18)." This learned judge composed several other works, which are still extant in MS. and some which are probably lost; and, after a long, active, and virtuous life, chequered with prosperity and adversity, he paid the last debt to nature in the ninetieth year of his age (19).

Ignorance
of the great.

The love of learning was by no means the prevailing taste of the great in the times we are examining. Even in a later period, "it was thought enough for a nobleman's sons to wind their horn, and to carry their hawk fair, and leave study and learning to the children of mean people (20)." A few persons, however, of high rank possessed such strength of mind as to resist the tyranny of fashion, and engage with no little ardour and success in the pursuit of learning, and on that account deserve to be remembered with honour by posterity.

(17) See the difference between an absolute and limited Monarchy, &c. written by sir John Fortescue, &c. published by John Fortescue, A. D. 1714.

(18) Biographia Britannica, vol. 3. p. 1997.

(19) Id. *ibid.*

(20) Id. *ibid.*, p. 1236.

James I. king of Scotland was not only the most ^{James I.} learned king, but one of the most learned men, of the age in which he flourished. This ingenious and amiable prince fell into the hands of the enemies of his country in his tender youth, when he was flying from the snares of his unnatural, ambitious uncle, who governed his dominions, and was suspected of designs against his life. The king of England knew the value of the prize he had obtained, and kept it with the most anxious care. The prince was conducted to the tower of London immediately after he was seized, April 12, A. D. 1405, and there kept a close prisoner till June 10, A. D. 1407, when he was removed to the castle of Nottingham, from whence he was brought back to the Tower, March 1, A. D. 1414, and there confined till August 3, in the same year, when he was conveyed to the castle of Windsor, where he was detained till the summer of A. D. 1417; when Henry V. for political reasons, carried him with him into France in his second expedition (21). In all these fortresses, his confinement, from his own account of it, was so severe and strict, that he was not so much as permitted to take the air.

Quhare as in ward full oft I wolde bewaille
My dedely lyf, full of peyne and penance,
Saing zyt thus, quhat have I gilt to faille
My fredome in this warld, and my plesance ?
Sin every weight has thereof suffisance.

Bewailing in my chamber thus allone,
Dispeired of all joye and remedye,
For-tirit of my thot, and wo-begone,
And to the wyndow gan I walk in hye,
To see the warld, and folk that went forbye,
As for the tyme, though I of mirthis fude
Myt have no more, to luke it did me gude (22).

King James was about thirteen years of age when he ^{Fond of} lost his liberty, and was kept in this uncomfortable close ^{reading,}

(21) Rym. Fæd. tom. 8. p. 484. tom. 9. p. 2. 44.

(22) The King's Quhair, a poem, by James I. canto 2. stan. 7. 9.

confinement till he was about twenty-six. In this melancholy situation, so unsuitable to his age and rank, books were his chief companions, and study his greatest pleasure. He rose early in the morning, immediately applied to reading, to divert him from painful reflections on his misfortunes, and continued his studies, with little interruption, till late at night.

The long dayes and the nightis eke,
I wold bewailie my fortune in this wise,
For quhich again distresse comfort to seke,
My custum was on mornis for to rise
Airly as day, O happy exercise!
Bot slep for craft in earth myt I no more;
For quich, as tho' could I no better wyle,
I toke a boke to rede upon a quhile:
Myn eyne gan to smart for studving;
My boke I schet, and at my hede it laid (23).

Universal
scholar.

James being naturally sensible, ingenious, and fond of knowledge, and having received a good education in his early youth, under the direction of Walter Wardlaw, bishop of St. Andrew's; by this close application to study, became an universal scholar, an excellent poet, and exquisite musician. That he wrote as well as read much, we have his own testimony, and that of all our historians who lived near his time (24). Bowermaker, the continuator of Fordun, who was his contemporary, and personally acquainted with him, spends ten chapters in his praises, and in lamentations on his death; and, amongst other things, says, that his knowledge of the scriptures, of law, and philosophy, was incredible (25). Hector Boyse tells us, that Henry IV. and V. furnished their royal prisoner with the best teachers in all the arts and sciences; and that, by their assistance, he made great proficiency in every part of learning, and the fine arts, that he became a perfect master in grammar, rhetoric, poetry, music, and all the secrets of natural phi-

(23) King's Quhair, canto 2. Stanza 10. canto 1. Stan. 2. 8.

(24) Id. canto 1. st. 13.

(25) Scotichron. lib. 16 c. 28—38.

lofophy, and was inferior to none in divinity and law. He obferves further, that the poems he compofed in his native tongue were fo beautiful, that you might eafily perceive he was born a poet; but that his Latin poems were not fo faultlefs; for though they abounded in the moft fublime fentiments, their language was not fo pure, owing to the rudeneff of the times in which he lived (26). From one of his Englifh poems, which hath been lately refcued from oblivion, and prefented to the public, by the laudable induftry of its learned editor, it plainly appears, that its royal author was poffeffed of a great variety of learning, as well as of a genuine fpirit of poetry; and if his other works had been preferved, it is probable we fhould have had ftill ftronger evidences of his erudition (27). But the works of James I. have been as unfortunate as their author; and all his Latin, and many of his Englifh compofitions, are, it is feared, irrecoverably loft.

John Tiptoft, earl of Worcefter, who flourifhed in the reigns of Henry VI. and Edward IV. was greatly diftinguifhed among the nobility of his time, by his genius and love of learning. He fucceeded to the great eftates of his family, by the death of his father John lord Tiptoft, 21ft Henry VI. when he was about fixteen years of age; and, fix years after, was honoured by that monarch with the higher title of earl of Worcefter (28). This accomplished nobleman was, by the fame prince, conftituted lord high treafurer of England, when he was only twenty-five years of age (29). The earl of Worcefter very early difcovered a tafte for learning, and at a proper age profecuted his ftudies at Baliol college in Oxford; where, as his contemporary and fellow-ftudent, John Rous of Warwick, tells us, he was much admired for his rapid progrefs in literature (30). In the twenty-feventh year of his age, he was commiffioned, with fome other noblemen, to guard the narrow feas, and performed that fervice with honour to himfelf, and advantage to his

Earl of
Worcefter.

(26) Heft. Boeth. Scot. Hift. lib. 16. fol. 340.

(27) See the Poetical Remains of James I. Edinburgh, 1783.

(28) Dugdale's Baronage, vol. 2. p. 41.

(29) Leland de Script. Britan. p. 475.

(30) J. Rousii Hift. p. 5.

country (31). But in the midst of all those honourable toils and offices, his love of learning continued unabated; and he resolved to travel for his improvement. Having visited the Holy Land, he returned to Italy, and settled at Padua, where Lodovicus Carbo, Guarinus, and John Phrea, an Englishman, were then very famous for their learning, and attracted great crowds of students. Our illustrious stranger was treated with great respect at Padua, and much admired by all the men of letters, for the knowledge he already possessed, and his ardour in adding to his stores. His countryman, John Phrea, dedicated two books which he then published to the earl of Worcester; and in these dedications he bestowed the highest praises on his patron, for his genius, learning, and many virtues; and, amongst other things, says, "Those superior beings, whose office it is to be the guardians of our isle of Britain, knowing you to be a wise and good man, an enemy to faction, and a friend of peace, warned you to abandon a country which they had abandoned, that you might not be stained by mixing with impious and factious men (32)." While he resided at Padua, which was about three years, during the heat of the civil wars in England, he visited Rome, and delivered an oration before pope Pius II. (Æneas Silvius), and his cardinals, which drew tears of joy from his holiness, and made him say aloud, "Behold the only prince of our times, who, for virtue and eloquence, may be justly compared to the most excellent emperors of Greece and Rome (33)." Such a compliment from an Italian to an Englishman must have been extorted by the force of truth.

A collector
of books.

The earl of Worcester was a great collector of books; and while he resided in Italy, he expended much money in literary purchases. "The earl of Worcester" (says Laurentius Carbo), captivated by the charms of the Muses, hath remained three years in Italy, and now resides at Padua, for the sake of study, and detained by the civility of the Venetians; who, being exceedingly fond of books, hath plundered, if I may so speak, our Italian libraries, to enrich Eng-

(31) Dugdale, v. 2. p. 41.

(33) Id. p. 476.

(32) Leland, p. 477.

“land (34).” After his return home, he made a present of books to the university-library of Oxford, which had cost him 500 marks (35): a great sum in those times.

As soon as the earl received intelligence that the civil war was ended, by the elevation of Edward IV. to the throne, he returned to England, submitted to that prince, was received into his favour, and raised by him to several places of power and trust. In the second year of that reign, he was made treasurer of the exchequer, and in the next year, chancellor of Ireland for life. He was soon after constituted lord deputy of Ireland, under the duke of Clarence, and at last made lord lieutenant of that kingdom, and constable of England. In a word, he was loaded with favours; and hardly a year passed in which he did not receive some valuable grant or great office (36).

But this prosperity was not of long duration. A new revolution took place. Edward IV. was obliged to abandon his kingdom with great precipitation, to save his life. The earl of Worcester was not so fortunate as to escape; but after he had concealed himself a few days, he was discovered on a high tree in the forest of Waybrig, conducted to London, condemned at Westminster, and beheaded on Tower-hill, October 15, A. D. 1470, in the 42d year of his age (37). He was accused of cruelty in the government of Ireland; but his greatest crime, and that for which he suffered, was, his steady loyalty to his rightful sovereign and generous benefactor, Edward IV. “O good blessed Lord God! (saith Caxton,) what grete losse was it of that noble, virtuous, and well disposed lord the earl of Worcester! What worship had he at Rome, in the presence of our holy fader the pope, and in all other places unto his deth! The axe then did at one blow cut off more learning than was in the heads of all the surviving nobility (38).” Caxton was his contemporary; and being also a zealous Yorkist, could not but be well acquainted with him.

(34) Leland, p. 478.

(35) Tanner, p. 715.

(36) Dugdale, vol. 2. p. 41.

(37) Id. ibid.

(38) See Royal and Noble Authors, vol. 1. p. 59—67.

Works.

This earl translated the orations of Publius Cornelius, and Caius Flaminius, rivals for the love of Lucretia; and his translation (says Leland) was so neat, elegant; and expressive, that it equalled the beauty of the original (39). He translated also into English, Cicero *De Amicitia*, and his treatise *De Senectute*; and these translations were printed by Caxton, A. D. 1481 (40). His famous oration before the pope and cardinals, and most of his original works, are lost, a few letters and small pieces only remaining in MS. (41).

Earl Rivers.

Another English nobleman, contemporary with the earl of Worcester, who was an author, and had a taste for letters, was Anthony Wodeville, earl Rivers, brother to Elizabeth Wodeville, lady Gray, queen of Edward IV. He was, in all respects, one of the most accomplished noblemen of his age. But as it is only as a man of letters he is introduced here, it is only his literary character and history that can with propriety be given in this place. I have not discovered where this nobleman was educated, or how far he pursued his studies; but as he was early and constantly engaged in the tumults of these turbulent times, or in discharging the duties of the high offices with which he was invested, it is probable that he made no great progress in the cultivation of the sciences; and as his works consist of translations from the French, they did not require much erudition.

Works.

The following account of these works, by his printer and great admirer, honest William Caxton, will be more satisfactory than any that can be given by a modern writer. “The noble and virtuous lord Anthoine, erle Kyviers, lord Scales, and of the Isle of Wight—uncle and governour to my lorde prince of Wales—notwithstanding the great labours and charges that he hath had in the service of the king and the said lord prince, as well in Wales as in England; which hath be to him no little thought and bisiness, both in spirite and body, as the fruit thereof experimentally sheweth; yet over that, teuriche his virtuous disposicion, he hath

(39) Leland, p. 480.

(41) *Id. ibid.*

(40) Tanner, p. 716.

“ put him in devoyr, at all tymes when he might have
 “ a leyser, whiche was but starte-mele, to translate di-
 “ verse bookes, out of Frensh into English. Emong
 “ other, passed thurgh myn hande, the booke of the
 “ Wise Sayinges or Dictes of Philosophers—and the
 “ Wise Holfom Proverbes of Cristine of Pyse, set in
 “ metre. Over that, hath made diverse balades against
 “ the seven dedely synnes. Furthermore, he took upon
 “ him the translating of this present worke, named Cor-
 “ dyale, trusting, that bothe the reders and the hearers
 “ thereof sholde knowe themself herafter the better, and
 “ ammente their lyvyng (42).” These three books,
 translated from the French by earl Rivers, were printed
 by Caxton, A. D. 1477 and 1478; and our earl, and
 his printer Caxton, were the first English writers who
 had the pleasure to see their works published from the
 press. His ballads against the seven deadly sins, I pre-
 sume are lost: but John Rous of Warwick hath preserved
 a short poem, which he is said to have composed in his
 prison in Pomfret castle, a little before his death, which
 breathes a noble spirit of pious resignation to his ap-
 proaching fate (43). This accomplished, brave, and
 amiable nobleman, as hath been already related, was
 beheaded, at Pomfret, 23d June A. D. 1483, in the 41st
 year of his age (44).

Who can help observing, with surprise and sorrow, that
 king James I. the earls of Worcester and Rivers, the great
 ornaments of Britain in the age in which they flourished,
 were all cut off, in the prime of life, by unmerited and
 violent deaths? This is one proof, amongst many others,
 of the cruel ferocious spirit which reigned in those un-
 happy times. May such a spirit be held in everlasting
 detestation!

(42) *Biographia Britannica*, vol. 2.(43) *Rossii Hist.* p. 214.(44) See *Royal and Noble Authors*, vol. 1. p. 67—80.

S E C T I O N

SECTION III.

History of the chief Seminaries of Learning founded in Great Britain, from A. D. 1400, to A. D. 1485.

Schools
founded.

THOUGH learning sensibly declined in Britain in this period, that was not owing to the want of schools, colleges, and universities; as, in the course of it, three colleges were founded in each of the English universities, and the two universities of St. Andrew's and Glasgow were founded in Scotland.

Lincoln col-
lege.

Richard Fleming, bishop of Lincoln, was the founder of Lincoln college in Oxford. In his youth he was a great admirer of Dr. Wickliffe, and a zealous advocate for his opinions; but having obtained good preferments in the church, and expecting better, he changed his principles, and became as violent an opposer as he had been a defender of these opinions. Having been raised to the episcopal chair of Lincoln, he founded Lincoln college in Oxford, A. D. 1430, for a rector and seven scholars, who were to make controversial divinity their particular study, to fit them for defending the church against the Lollards, by their writings and disputations. Bishop Fleming died soon after he had laid the foundation of his college, and left it in a very imperfect state. But the buildings were carried on, and several fellowships founded by successive benefactors; and at length the whole was compleated about A. D. 1475, by Thomas Scott, of Rotheram, bishop of Lincoln, who may be called the second founder of this college (1).

All Souls
college.

Henry Chicheley, archbishop of Canterbury, founded All-Souls college in Oxford, A. D. 1437. Having determined to devote his money to pious and charitable uses, his friends, with whom he consulted, advised him to build an hospital for the disabled soldiers, who were

(1) Ant. Wood, Hist. Univer. Oxon. lib. 2. p. 159, &c.

daily returning from the wars in France. But this great prelate, being more under the influence of superstition than humanity, and thinking it a greater act of charity to relieve the souls of the dead than the bodies of the living, founded a college for a warden and forty fellows, and appointed them to put up incessant prayers for the souls of those who had fallen in the French wars, and for the souls of all the faithful departed, from whence it was called *Collegium Omnium Animarum*, the College of All-Souls. The archbishop expended 4545*l.* on the fabric, and procured a considerable revenue for it out of the lands of the alien priories, which had been dissolved a little time before (2).

William Patten, bishop of Winchester, founded a college at Oxford, dedicated to St. Mary Magdalene, and from thence called Magdalene College; for a president, forty fellows, thirty scholars, four presbyters, eight singing clerks, sixteen choristers, with suitable officers and servants. The foundation of the fabric was laid A. D. 1458, and the whole structure was compleated A. D. 1479. This college, by the bounty of its founder, and other benefactors, soon became one of the richest in Europe (3).

Henry VI. founded King's college in Cambridge, A. D. 1443, for one provost, seventy fellows and scholars, three chaplains, six clerks sixteen choristers, with a master, sixteen officers, twelve servitors, &c. The original plan of this foundation was truly royal and magnificent, if we may judge of it from the chapel, which hath been long and universally admired as one of the finest pieces of Gothic architecture in the world. But the misfortunes of the unhappy founder prevented the execution of that plan (4). King Henry founded also the illustrious school of Eton, near Windsor, about the same time, to be a nursery for his college in Cambridge.

Queen Margaret, the active ambitious consort of Henry VI. founded Queen's college in Cambridge, A. D. 1488. This college was involved in the misfortunes of its foundress, and in danger of perishing in its infancy; but was preserved by the care and diligence of

(2) Ant. Wood. Hist. Univ. Oxon. lib. 2. p. 172, &c.

(3) Id. ibid. 187, &c.

(4) Fuller's Hist. Cam. p. 73.

Andrew Ducket, its first president, who continued in that station no less than forty years ; and by his assiduous solicitations, procured it so many benefactions, that he may, with great propriety, be esteemed its preserver and second founder (5).

Katharine-hall, Cambridge.

Robert Woodlark, the third provost of King's college, founded Katharine-hall in Cambridge, A. D. 1475, for a master and three fellows. This hall, so small at its beginning, increased so much in its revenues, and the number of its members, by the bounty of many subsequent benefactors, that it became equal, if not superior, to some colleges (6).

Public schools.

The professors of the several sciences in Cambridge and Oxford anciently read their lectures, either in convents or in private houses, at a distance from one another, hired for that purpose ; which was attended with various inconveniencies. To remedy this, public schools were built, in both these universities, in the course of this period. Thomas Hokenorton, abbot of Osney, erected a range of stone buildings, in Oxford, A. D. 1439, which he divided into schools, for the following arts and sciences : metaphysics, natural philosophy, moral philosophy, astronomy, geometry, music, arithmetic, logic, rhetoric, and grammar. These were called the *new schools*, and were used till long after the conclusion of this period (7). The foundation of the magnificent divinity school and library, in the same university, was laid about A. D. 1427 ; but the building was frequently interrupted for want of money. At length, by the liberal donations of several benefactors, particularly of Humphrey, duke of Gloucester, cardinal John Kemp, archbishop of York, and his nephew Thomas Kemp, bishop of London, the structure was completed, A. D. 1480 (8). This fabric was an object of great admiration in those times ; and the university speak of it in the most lofty strains, in their letters to their great benefactor the bishop of London, calling it, “ A work worthy of God, as “ much superior to all the great edifices around it, in “ magnitude and beauty, as divinity, to which it is de-

(5) Id. p. 80.

(7) Ant. Wood, lib. 2. p. 15.

(6) Id. p. 83.

(8) Id. ibid. p. 21, 22.

“ dicated, is superior to all the other sciences (9).” The quadrangle, containing the public schools in Cambridge, at least the west side of it, was founded about the beginning of this period, and the whole was finished about A. D. 1475 (10).

The youth of Scotland, in the middle ages, were not destitute of a genius, and a taste for learning; but had not the same means of acquiring it with those of England. Having no university in their own country, such of them as prosecuted their studies, were obliged to travel for their improvement; which was attended with much expence and trouble. This disadvantage was sensibly felt and much regretted; but the distracted state of that unhappy kingdom, involved in almost incessant wars, long prevented any remedy (11).

No university in Scotland.

At length, A. D. 1410, a few men of letters in St. Andrew's formed themselves into a voluntary society, and generously offered to teach those sciences then usually taught in universities, to all who chose to attend their lectures. Laurence Lindores, a learned theologian, read lectures on the fourth book of the sentences of Peter Lombard; Dr. Richard Cornel, archdeacon of Lothian, Mr. John Litster, canon of St. Andrew's, Mr. John Chevez, official of St. Andrew's, and Mr. William Stephen, lectured at different hours, on the civil and canon laws, which were the favourite studies of the clergy in those times; Mr. John Gill, Mr. William Fowles, and Mr. William Croiser, taught logic and philosophy. These lectures commenced at Whitfunday A. D. 1410, and were attended by crowds of students (12).

Lectures at St. Andrew's.

Henry Wardlaw, bishop of St. Andrew's, a magnificent and generous prelate, a great, and probably the chief promoter of this design of erecting an university, encouraged by the success of these previous lectures, granted a charter “ to the venerable doctors, masters, “ bachelors, and students, residing in his city of St. “ Andrew's, and their successors, confirming the university there, which they had so laudably instituted and

University of St. Andrew's founded.

(9) Ant. Wood, lib. 2 p. 21, 22.

(10) Fuller, p. 79.

(11) Fordun's Scotichron. lib. 15. c. 22. Hist. Boeth. lib. 16. Buchan; lib. 10.

(12) Scotichron. lib. 15. cap. 22.

“ begun, constituting and declaring it to be an university, for the study of divinity, law, medicine, and the liberal arts, and taking it under his special protection.” In this charter the bishop, for himself and his successors, granted to the members of his university of St. Andrew’s, and their successors, all the powers, privileges, and immunities, usually granted to other universities, which are enumerated; and obliged the alderman, bailiffs, and other officers of his city of St. Andrew’s, when they entered on their offices, to take an oath before the rector of the university, not to invade or violate any of these privileges. In the same charter, the prior and chapter of St. Andrew’s, with the archdeacons of St. Andrew’s and Lothian, give their consent to the establishment of the university, and grant the same privileges to its members, in all their baronies and lands. This charter is dated at St. Andrew’s, 27th February A. D. 1411 (13).

Confirmed
by the pope.

As no transaction of importance in those times was concluded without the approbation of the pope, the above-mentioned charter, with petitions for the confirmation of it from the regent, in the name of the king, from the bishop, prior, and chapter of St. Andrew’s, were sent to pope Benedict XIII. one of the three contending popes, who then resided in Aragon, and was acknowledged by that kingdom, and by Scotland. Benedict granted one bull, confirming the above charter, and all the privileges and immunities therein given to the university, by the bishop, prior, chapter, and archdeacons; and another, granting certain additional privileges by his holiness. Both these bulls are dated at Paniscole (a strong place in Aragon, where that pope then kept his little court), September 3, A. D. 1412 (14). When these papal bulls were brought to St. Andrew’s, February 3, A. D. 1413, by Henry de Ogilby, A. M. they were received with great ceremony, and every possible demonstration of joy (15).

Became famous.

The university of St. Andrew’s soon became conspicuous, and acquired considerable influence in the most important affairs both of church and state. Scotland ad-

(13) Ex Archivis Univer. St. Andr.

(14) Id.

(15) Scotichron. lib. 15. c. 22.

hered longer to Benedict XIII. than any other nation ; but after that pope was deposed by the council of Constance, and Martin V. chosen in his place, the council sent the abbot of Pontiniac, a man of great learning and eloquence, into Scotland, to prevail upon that church and kingdom to withdraw their obedience from Benedict, and acknowledge the pope who had been chosen by the council. The emperor Sigismond, at the same time, sent letters to the regent and the three estates, to the same purpose. The duke of Albany summoned a parliament, and convocation of the clergy, to meet at Perth, 2d October A. D. 1417, to determine this important question. The regent was friendly to the cause of Benedict ; and that pope was not wanting to himself on this occasion. After the abbot of Pontiniac had laid before the parliament, the emperor's letters, and the request of the council of Constance, and enforced them in a long oration, Dr. John Harding appeared, with letters from Benedict, which he presented, together with a commission to him to plead his cause. The letters contained the most flattering praises of the Scots for their former steadiness, and the most pressing exhortations to persevere in their adherence to him as the only lawful pope ; and Dr. Harding pleaded his cause with great ability and zeal, employing arguments which must have made a deep impression on a superstitious high-spirited people, proud and jealous of their independence. But Dr. John Elwood, the rector, and the other famous divines of the university of St. Andrew's, having taken the other side of the question, prevailed upon the parliament, by the strength of their arguments and the weight of their influence, to withdraw from the obedience of Benedict, and acknowledge Martin V. to be the lawful pope (16).

James I. that great lover of learning and learned men, rejoiced, in the solitude of his prison, at the establishment of an university in his dominions ; and after his return home, he gave the members of it many marks of his favour and attention. He sometimes honoured their public acts and disputations with his presence ; bestowed ecclesiastical dignities and benefices on the most

Favoured
by James I.

(16) Scoticeron. lib. 15. c. 24, 25.

éminent professors ; kept a list of the most promising scholars, in order to prefer them as opportunities offered ; and granted them a charter, expressive of the warmest regard, and exempting them from all tolls, taxes, and services, in all parts of the kingdom. This charter is dated at Perth, 20th March A. D. 1431 (17). We are told by one of our ancient historians, that the new university increased immensely under the patronage of this excellent prince ; that it had thirteen doctors of divinity, eight doctors of laws, many other learned men, and a prodigious multitude of students (18).

Not rich.

But though the university of St. Andrew's was thus compleatly established, much respected, and well frequented, it was but ill accommodated and endowed. The students lived entirely at their own expence ; the regents or teachers had no fixed salaries ; and the gratuities they received from their pupils were probably very small ; and in this condition this university continued about forty years, owing to the very unhappy and distressful circumstances of the kingdom in those times.

St. Salvator's college.

At length that generous and public-spirited prelate, James Kennedy, bishop of St. Andrew's, who succeeded bishop Wardlaw in that see, A. D. 1444, built a college in that city, for theology and the liberal arts ; dedicated it to the honour of God, of our Saviour, and the Virgin Mary, and gave it the name of *St. Salvator's college*. Besides defraying all the expences of the fabric, with its furniture, and of the utensils and ornaments of the chapel, he endowed it with competent revenues for a principal, six fellows, and six poor scholars. It is difficult to discover the precise time when this college was built and endowed. The first foundation-charter was confirmed by pope Nicolas V. who died 25th March A. D. 1458, and was confirmed, at Rome, by pope Pius II. 13th September in the same year. This charter is very long, containing all the statutes of the college, from which only a very brief abstract of the chief or most remarkable articles can be given. By this charter the principal was always to be a doctor in divinity, and rector

(17) Ex Archiv. &c. H. Boeth. lib. 16. p. 342.

(18) Ibid.

(19) Du Pin. cent. 15. ch. 3.

of Qubilt, and was obliged to read a theological lecture once in every week, and to preach to the people four times a year. The first of the fellows was to be a licentiate in divinity, and rector of the parish-church of Kembach, and to read theological lectures thrice a week, and preach to the people six times a year. The second of the fellows was to be a bachelor in divinity, rector of Dunninach, and to read a theological lecture every lawful day. The rectories annexed to these three offices constituted their endowments. The other four fellows were to be masters of arts, and in priests orders; and two of them were to be chosen annually, by the principal, the licentiate, and the bachelor, to read lectures in logics, physics, philosophy, or metaphysics, according to the manner prescribed by the general statutes of the university, for which they were to receive small annual stipends. All the members, with necessary servants and attendants, were to be provided with meat, drink, and lodging in the college; and funds were settled for that purpose. Others who resided in it at their own expence, were to conform to all its regulations. This charter contains a great variety of rules, concerning the succession or election to offices—the times of vacation and residence,—the performance of divine service in the chapel,—visitation by the rector of the university, the authority of the principal, &c. &c. Though this good bishop is said to have been a great reformer of the manners of the clergy, he doth not seem to have expected or exacted any very extraordinary degrees of purity and strictness from the members of his college, as appears from the following statute: “We ordain further, That
 “all the members of the said college live decently, as
 “becomes ecclesiastics; that they do not keep concu-
 “bines publicly; that they be not common night walk-
 “ers or robbers, or habitually guilty of other notorious
 “crimes; and if any one of them is so (which God forbid), let him be corrected by his superior, and if he
 “proves incorrigible, let him be deprived by the same
 “superior, and another substituted in his place (20).”

As the diocese of Glasgow was next to that of St. Andrew's in rank and revenues, the bishops of the one often emulated those of the other. William Turnbull, University of Glasgow founded.

(20) Ex Archivis Univer. St. Andr.

bishop of Glasgow, seeing an university established at St. Andrew's, and being a friend to learning, resolved to procure the establishment of another at his episcopal seat. With this view, he prevailed upon king James II. to apply to the pope for erecting one in that city; representing, that it would be of great use, not only to his own subjects, but also to the people of some neighbouring countries; and that the place was very fit for such a seminary of learning, on account of the salubrity of the air, and of its abounding with all the necessaries of life. In compliance with this application, pope Nicolas V. moved by the accounts he had received of the pleasantness of the place, the convenientness of its situation, and the number of learned men residing in it, granted a bull, dated at Rome, 26th December A. D. 1450, establishing an university, or general study in all lawful faculties, in the city of Glasgow, with all the powers, honours, and immunities, of his own university of Bononia; and that the degrees and honours conferred by it should be sustained by every other university. By the same bull, the pope constituted William bishop of Glasgow, and his successors, perpetual chancellors of this university, with all the powers enjoyed by the chancellors of other universities (21).

Commen-
ced.

When this bull was brought to Glasgow, a congregation of those who were to be the first members was held in the chapter-house of the Dominican friars; and at that meeting the university was formed. About forty gentlemen, mostly ecclesiastics, were incorporated, or matriculated, and took an oath to keep the secrets, maintain the privileges, and obey the laws, of the university. At their matriculation, each person paid, or engaged to pay, a sum of money, for the support of the institution; but whether that sum was fixed, and a condition of their admission, or was uncertain or voluntary, I have not discovered. The first lecture in this university was read in the chapter-house of the Dominicans, 29th April A. D. 1451, by Dr. David Cadzow, the first rector, on the third book of the sentences, *De vita et honestate clericorum*; and Dr. John Lennox read, the

(21) Ex Archivis Univer. Glasgoven.

same day, in the same place, on the rubric of the civil law (22) Dr. Andrew de Garlies, doctor of medicine, was admitted a member four days after this, and was probably the first professor of that science in this university.

In the same year in which the university of Glasgow College, was thus established, the college or faculty of arts was also formed. Dr. William Elphinston was chosen the first dean of that faculty; and the regents immediately began their lectures in logics, physics, and philosophy. The college was governed by a principal or chief regent, who was subject to the authority of the rector of the university. Dr. Duncan Bunch was the first principal (23). The ancient records of the college were kept in a book distinct from those of the university.

The university and college of Glasgow being thus Confirmed completely formed, king James II. by his letters patent by James II. under the great seal, dated at Stirling, 20th April A. D. 1453, took under his special patronage and protection, the rector, dean of faculty, proctors of nations, regents, masters, and scholars, and their successors; and exempted them, together with their beadles, writers, stationers, and parchment-makers, from all taxes, tolls, watchings, wardings, &c. within his kingdom (24).

William Turnbull, bishop of Glasgow, who had been By bishop Turnbull. the chief promoter of this institution, granted a charter, dated at his city of Glasgow, 1st December A. D. 1453, containing a variety of powers and privileges conferred by him on the rector and university. Particularly he granted to the rector of his university of Glasgow, and his successors, jurisdiction and cognizance in all civil and pecuniary causes of smaller moment within the university; reserving those of greater importance to his own determination as lord of the regality. He also granted to the rector the trial and cognizance of all quarrels and disputes between the members of the university and the inhabitants of the city and regality of Glasgow; reserving to the latter the privilege of appealing from the decisions of the rector to the bishop or his official. All benefited

(22) Ex Archivis Univer. Glasgoven.

(23) Ex Archivis Collegii Glasgoven;

(24) Ex Archivis Univer. Glasgoven.

clergymen within the diocese of Glasgow, who were members of the university, either as regents or students, were by this charter exempted from the obligation of residing in their parishes, but were obliged to keep curates. The bishop also granted an exemption from all tolls, exactions, and services imposed by the city, to all the members of the university, including the beadles, shield-bearers, familiars, servants, writers, stationers, parchment-makers, with their wives, children, and servants; and obliged the magistrates of his city of Glasgow, when they entered on their offices, to take an oath before the chancellor of the diocese, to protect the university in all its privileges. In a word, William bishop of Glasgow granted the same privileges, almost in the same words, to his university of Glasgow, that Henry bishop of St. Andrew's had before granted to his university of St. Andrew's; and both these prelates used the style of independent sovereigns, prescribing laws and granting privileges to their subjects (25).

Ill endow-
ed.

But though the powers, privileges, and immunities of this new university and college were sufficiently ample, their endowments and revenues were very small. For some time they seem to have had no possessions or fixed revenues, but to have depended entirely on occasional donations, and the fees paid by the students. They could the more easily subsist in this manner, that the rector, the principal regent, the other regents, and even many of the students, were beneficed clergymen or monks. It appears also, from the most ancient matriculation-rolls, that the rest of the students were, for the most part, young noblemen or gentlemen; few persons of inferior rank having either the ambition or ability to give their sons an university education (26). Bishop Turnbull, it is said, intended to have endowed his favourite university, which he considered as his child, with certain rents and tenements; but he went to Rome, and died there, in the prime of life, only about nine months after he had granted the above charter, without having executed his intention.

Lord Hamilton a
great benefactor.

The college of Glasgow received its first valuable benefaction, which gave it a solid foundation and establish-

(25) Ex Archivis Univer. Glasgow.

(26) Ibid.

ment, from the noble family of Hamilton, who seem to have the best title to the honour of being its founders. James lord Hamilton, and his lady Euphemia countess of Douglas, by a deed or charter, dated at Glasgow, 6th January A. D. 1459, granted to their beloved Duncan Bunch, principal regent, to the other regents, and to the students in the college, or faculty of arts, in the university of Glasgow, and their successors, a tenement on the east side of that street in Glasgow which leads from the cathedral to the market-cross, for their accommodation, with four acres of ground adjacent. The principal regent, with the other regents and students, accordingly took up their residence in that tenement (on the site of which the present college is built), and lived in a collegiate manner. In this charter, the lord and lady Hamilton frequently call themselves the founders of the college of Glasgow; and in return for this valuable benefaction, they oblige the members of their college to perform a variety of religious rites for the benefit of the souls of their founders. In particular, they oblige them, every day after dinner and supper, to stand up and pray, for the good state of the universal church, for the king and queen of Scotland, and for the souls of lord and lady Hamilton their founders. Besides this, they oblige all the members of their college who were priests, to say a great number of masses every year, for the souls of their founders, and for the souls of all those from whom the lord Hamilton had taken any thing, and had never made any return (27). This was a very common method of compensating injuries in those superstitious times; and to this many churches and monasteries, as well as colleges, owed their existence.

(27) Ex Archivis Univer. Glasgoven,

THE
HISTORY
OF
GREAT BRITAIN.

BOOK V.

CHAP. V.

*History of the Arts in Great Britain, from the Accession of
Henry IV. A. D. 1399, to the Accession of Henry VII.
A. D. 1485.*

Decline of
ARTS. **T**HE frequent wars in which the people of Britain were engaged in this period, were as unfriendly to the improvement of the arts as to the advancement of learning. The art of war, indeed, was cultivated with the greatest ardour, and many improvements were made in the science of shedding human blood; while some of the most necessary and useful arts were allowed to languish and decline. But it is proper, and may be both useful and amusing, to take a more attentive view, first of the necessary, and then of the pleasing arts, in this period.

SECTION I.

*History of the necessary Arts in Britain, from A. D. 1399 to
A. D. 1485.*

AGRICULTURE, the most necessary and useful of all arts, could not flourish or be much improved, when those who cultivated the soil were little better than slaves, and laboured not so much for themselves, as for their haughty masters, who, in general, treated them with little kindness, and less respect.

These unhappy rustics were not even permitted to pursue their humble toils in peace, but were liable every moment to be called from the plough into the field of battle, by a royal proclamation, or by the mandates of their own arbitrary lords. Such multitudes of this most useful order of men actually fell in battle, or were destroyed by the accidents and fatigues of war, that hands were wanting to carry on the necessary operations of husbandry. This occasioned loud complaints of the scarcity of labourers, and of the high price of labour. Many laws were made to reduce and fix the price of labour, to compel men to become labourers, and to restrain them from following other occupations (1). In one of these statutes it is said, that noblemen and others were greatly distressed for want of labourers and servants in husbandry; and therefore it was enacted, "That whoever had been employed at the plough, or cart, or any other husbandry work, till he was twelve years of age, should be compelled to continue in that employment during life." It was further enacted, "That none who had not lands or rents of the value of twenty shillings a year (equivalent to ten pounds at present), should be permitted to put any of their sons apprentices to any

(1) See Statutes, 7th Hen. IV. ch. 17.; 2d Hen. V. ch. 4.; 4th Hen. V. ch. 4.; 2d Hen. VI. ch. 14.; 23d Hen. VI. ch. 12.

“ other trade, but should bring them all up to husbandry.” These hard laws, which infringed so much on natural liberty, were enforced by very severe penalties; a proof that the evil they were intended to remedy was very sensibly felt (2).

Change in
agriculture.

But these and several other laws, limiting the price of labour, seem to have had little or no effect. The scarcity of labourers still continued, and with the increasing ravages of war increased, and at last produced a memorable revolution in the state of agriculture, which made a mighty noise for many years. The prelates, barons, and other great proprietors of land, kept extensive tracts of them around their castles, which were called their demesne lands, in their own immediate possession, and cultivated them by their villains, and by hired servants, under the direction of their beliefs. But these great landholders having often led their followers into the fields of war, their numbers were gradually diminished, and hired servants could not be procured on reasonable terms. This obliged the prelates, lords, and gentlemen, to inclose the lands around their castles, and to convert them into pasture grounds. This practice of inclosing became very general in England about the middle of this period, and occasioned prodigious clamours from those who mistook the effects of depopulation for its cause. For when we consider, that the importance, honour, and security of the nobles, knights, and gentlemen of those times, depended more upon the number of their followers, than on the greatness of their estates, we cannot suppose it possible, that the generality of them, nearly about the same time, would have agreed to expel their faithful followers from their demesne lands, in order to cover them with defenceless flocks and herds, if they had not been compelled to do it by some very general and powerful cause. We learn from the best authority, the testimony of many acts of parliament, that the depopulation of the country, and the difficulty of procuring labourers, was the real cause of this remarkable revolution.

Complaints
on that ac-
count.

John Rouse of Warwick was a most violent declaimer against the nobility and gentry who inclosed their lands; and a considerable part of his History of England con-

(2) Statutes, 7th Hen. IV. ch. 17.

sists of the most bitter invectives against them; calling them depopulators, destroyers of villages, robbers, tyrants, basilisks, enemies to God and man; and assuring them, that they would all go to the devil when they died (3). This zealous enemy to inclosures tells us, that he presented a petition against them to the parliament that met at Coventry A. D. 1459, which was totally disregarded; and that several petitions to succeeding parliaments had been equally unsuccessful (4). But though John Rouse was a contemporary writer, no great regard is due to his opinions, as he was evidently a superficial observer, and a weak credulous man. In his declamations against those hated depopulators, he informs us, that one of that character had actually been seen in hell, by a certain priest, who was carried thither on the back of a devil, with whom he was familiar; that the priest was a little averse at first to trust himself on the back of his infernal friend, till the devil gave him his word of honour, that he would bring him back in safety; which he faithfully performed (5).

But though this alteration in agriculture was introduced *Continued* at first by the scarcity of labourers, and the high price of ^{too long.} labour, it cannot be denied, that the humour of inclosing arable lands, and converting them into pastures, was at length carried too far; and early in the succeeding period, we shall find that parliament interposed to stop its progress (6).

The frequent dearths which happened in this period, *Dearth.* is another evidence of the imperfect state of agriculture. In the present age, when grain is double its ordinary price, it is accounted a great dearth, and is very severely felt by the great body of the people. But in those times grain was frequently triple or quadruple its usual price, which must have produced a grievous famine (7). The most common price of a quarter of wheat in this period seems to have been about 4s. or 4s. 6d. at the rate of 40s. or 45s. of our money at present. But we are informed by a contemporary historian, that in A. D. 1437 and 1438, the price of a quarter of wheat in many places

(3) J. Rossi Hist. Ang. p. 39—44. p. 88—96. p. 114—137.

(4) J. Rossi Hist. Ang. p. 120.

(5) Id. p. 94.

(6) Statutes, 4th Hen VII. ch. 16. 19.

(7) See Chronicon Preciosum, p. 98—114.

was no less than 11. 6s. 8d. (equivalent to 13l. 6s. 8d. at present); and the price of all other kinds of grain in the same proportion to their ordinary prices (8). In this extremity, the common people endeavoured to preserve their wretched lives, by drying the roots of herbs, and converting them into a kind of bread (9).

Cheapness
of grain.

It must be confessed, that in the course of this period grain of all kinds was sometimes exceedingly cheap. Wheat was sold, A. D. 1455, in some places, at 1s. the quarter (10). But this was not so much owing to any improvements in husbandry, as to an extraordinary importation of corn from the continent, in order to procure a supply of English wool. This excessive importation, which threatened the ruin of the English farmers, excited the most violent complaints, and gave occasion to a corn-law, A. D. 1463. By that law it was enacted, that no grain of any kind should be imported, when wheat was below 6s. 8d. rye under 4s. and barley under 3s. per quarter; which were high prices, and called for a supply from abroad (11).

Low value
of land.

But the great decrease in the value of land is the strongest proof of the decline of agriculture in this period. There are some examples of land sold at twenty-five years purchase in the reign of Edward III. which, it is probable, was not much above the common price (12). But there is the fullest evidence that land had fallen in its value to ten years purchase, in the reign of Edward IV. For that prince promised, by proclamation, a reward of 1000l. in money, or an estate of 100l. a year, to any who should apprehend the duke of Clarence, or the earl of Warwick (13). It is even probable that land was sometimes sold considerably lower. Sir John Fortescue, advising Edward IV. to reward his servants with money, rather than with land, says, "It is supposed, that to sum of
" them is givyn 100l. worth land yerely, that would have
" hold him content with 200l. in money, if thay might
" have had it in hand (14)." So deplorable are the ef-

(8) Hist. Croyland, p. 518.

(9) Ibid.

(10) Stow, p. 398.

(11) Statutes, 3d Edw. IV. ch. 2.

(12) Godwin de Presulibus Angl. p. 116.

(13) Rym. Fœd. tom. 11. p. 654.

(14) Fortescue on absolute and limited monarchy, p. 85.

fects of long and frequent wars, especially of intestine wars, in a country not overstocked with inhabitants.

If agriculture declined in England in this period, it ^{In Scotland.} declined still more in Scotland, as that unhappy country had suffered more in proportion to its population and wealth, by long and ruinous wars. The low state of its agriculture in this period is evident from the laws that were made for its improvement. By one of these laws, A. D. 1424, it is enacted, "That ilk man of simple estate, that sould be of resoun labourers, have owther half an ox in the pleuh, or else delve ilk day vii fute of length, and vii on bread (15)." Another law, A. D. 1457, is thus expressed: "Anent the sawing of quheit, peis, and beinis, it is sene speidfull, that ilk man crend with a pleug of viii oxen, shall saw at the least ilk yeir, ane firlot of quheit, half an firlot of peis, and forty beins, under the pane of xs. to the barrone of that land that he dwells in.—And giff the barrone saws not the said corn in his domainis, he shall pay to the king xsh (12)." How different from this is the present state of agriculture in North Britain?

Orchards and gardens were cultivated in this as well ^{Gardening.} as in former periods; but if any great improvements were now made in that branch of agriculture, by the introduction of new fruits, plants, herbs, or flowers, they have escaped my researches. The following verses of king James I. of Scotland contain a description of the royal garden at Windsor, as it appeared about A. D. 1414.

Now was there maid fast by the Touris wall
A gardyn faire, and in the corneris fet,
Ane herbere grene, with wādis long and small
Railit about; and so with treis set
Was all the place, and hawthorn hegis knet,
That lyf (17) was non walkyng there forbye
That myght within scarce any wight aspye.

(15) Black Acts, fol. 7.

(16) Ibid. f. 44.

(17) Lyf, living person.

So thick the beuis and the levis grene,
 Beschadet all the allyes that there were,
 And middis every herbere might be fene
 The sharp grene fuede junipere,
 Growing so fair with branchis here and there,
 That as it femyt to a lyf without,
 The bewis spred the herbere all about (18).

In Scot-
 land.

That excellent and most accomplished prince James I. who was not a mere scholar, but possessed no little skill in many of the useful as well as elegant arts, laboured with great ardour to inspire his subjects with the love, and to instruct them in the practice, of these arts, and, amongst others, of the art of gardening. "At his leisure hours (says a contemporary historian, who was well acquainted with him), he not only indulged himself in music, in reading and writing, in drawing and painting, but when the circumstances of time and place, and the taste and manners of those about him, made it proper, he would sometimes instruct them in the arts of cultivating kitchen and pleasure gardens, and of planting and ingrafting different kinds of fruit-trees (19)." That illustrious prince, Henry V. though, for political reasons, he kept the unfortunate James a prisoner during his whole reign, and would probably never have consented to his enlargement, could not help admiring his virtues and accomplishments, and acknowledging, that the subjects would be happy who were governed by such a prince (20).

Cultivating
 grasses un-
 known.

Though greater attention was paid to the breeding and feeding of sheep and cattle in this than in any former period, the sowing of grasses and the manuring of pastures were quite unknown.

Making
 salt.

Salt is at all times an important article, and was of still greater importance in those times, when salted meats were so much used; and yet the art of making it was very imperfectly understood in England. Henry VI. being informed, that a new and better method of making salt had been invented in the Low Countries, he invited John de Sheidame, a gentleman of Zealand, with sixty persons in his company, to come into England, to instruct his

(18) Poetical Remains of James I.

(19) Scoticon, lib. 16. c. 30.

(20) Id. Ibid.

subjects in the new method of making salt, promising them protection and encouragement (21).

It would be improper, on many accounts, to encumber the pages of a general history, with tedious minute details of every trivial transitory change in the necessary or pleasing arts, which had little or no effect on the appearance of the country or the state of its inhabitants. This was never promised or intended in this work; in which it is only designed to introduce, in their proper times, such useful inventions and important improvements in the arts, as were productive of real and permanent advantages. It is not necessary, therefore, in this place, to give a detailed description of the state of architecture, as that was very nearly the same in this as in the preceding period.

Though great guns were now used both in the attack and defence of places, no alterations were yet made in constructing and fortifying such places. The prodigious thickness and solidity of the walls of the Anglo-Norman castles, made any alteration to appear unnecessary, as they seemed to be sufficiently strong to resist any force with which they could be assaulted. The truth is, that the people of England, in this period, were much more employed in beating down than in building. Many large, strong, and magnificent castles were demolished or dismantled during those desolating civil wars between the houses of York and Lancaster, but very few were built. For at the same time that these castles were destroyed, their noble proprietors, who might have rebuilt them, were either killed or ruined. So many of the artificers also employed in building, fell in these and other wars, that they became exceedingly scarce, and the price of their labour very high; and all the laws made to remedy this evil proved ineffectual (22). Scotland was in the same situation in this respect. Masons and carpenters were so few, that they undertook more works than they could execute; the trouble and expence of

(21) Rym. Fœd. tom. 8. p. 761.

(22) See Statutes, 4th Hen. IV. c. 14. 2d Hen. V. c. 4. an. 4. c. 4. 6th Hen. VI. c. 3. an. 8. c. 8. an. 23. c. 12.

building were so great, that it became necessary to make laws to compel men of fortune to build (23).

Sacred.

The taste for founding and building monasteries and churches did not prevail so much in this as it had done in some preceding periods. This was partly owing to the unhappy state of the country; and partly to the doubts which had been raised in the minds of many persons of all ranks, by Wickliffe and his followers, concerning the merits of those pious but expensive works. It cannot be denied, however, that the style of sacred architecture, commonly called the *Gothic*, continued to be gradually improved, and in the course of this period was brought to the highest perfection. Of this most lofty, bold, and perfect style of Gothic architecture, several specimens remain entire; and as these structures were much admired in the age in which they were erected, they are still beheld with pleasure, not without surprise. Of this kind are—the divinity school at Oxford—the chapel of King's college at Cambridge—the collegiate church of Fotheringay—the chapel of St. George at Windsor, and several other churches in England (24). Specimens of this kind are also to be found in Scotland, as the college church in Edinburgh—that chapel which is now the vestry to the old church in the same city—the palace-church in Linlithgow—the east church in Stirling, &c. which were all built in this period.

King's college chapel.

To prevent the necessity of a minute description of the peculiarities of this style of architecture, it may be proper to lay before the reader the plan of King's college chapel in Cambridge (the most admired edifice of this kind), extracted from the last will of its royal founder, Henry VI. by one of our historians. “The words of
“the will are these—As touching the dimensions of the
“church of my said college, of our Lady and St. Nicholas at Cambridge, I have devised and appointed,
“that the same church shall containe in length 288 foot
“of assize, without any isles, and all of the wideness of
“forty foot. And the length of the same church, from
“the west end, unto the altars at the quire door, shall
“contain 120 foot, and from the provost's stall unto the

(23) Black Acts, James I. c. 89, 90. 92.

(24) Warton's Observations on the Fairy Queen, vol. 2. p. 182, &c.

“ steps called Gradus Chori, 90 foot, for 36 stalls on either side of the same quire, answering to 70 fellows, and 10 priests conduits, which must be *De prima forma*. And from the said stalls to the east end of the church, 22 foot of assize. Also a reredosse bearing the roodloft, departing the quire and the body of the church, containing in length 40 foot, and in breadth 14 foot. The walls of the same church to be in height 90 foot, embattled, vaulted, and chere-roofed, sufficiently butteraced, and every butterace fined with finials. And in the east end of the same church shall be a window of nine days, and betwixt every butterace a window of five days. And betwixt every of the same butteraces in the body of the church, on both sides of the same church, a closet, with an altar therein, containing in length 20 foot, and in breadth 10 foot, vawted and finished under the soyle of the isle windows. And the pavement of the church to be enhanced four foot above the ground without; and the pavement of the quire one foot and a half above the pavement of the church (25).” This light, lofty, and beautiful structure was founded A. D. 1441, and consecrated A. D. 1443, though it was not finished till some years after; and is still in excellent preservation.

If many churches and castles were destroyed by the ^{Civil ar-} desolating wars of this period, a much greater number of ^{chitecture.} villages and private dwellings were demolished or deserted. John Rouse of Warwick names no fewer than sixty villages, within twelve miles of that city, some of them formerly large and populous, with churches and manor houses, that were destroyed and abandoned (26). In such circumstances, no improvements could be made in civil architecture that merit investigation. It is sufficient to observe in general, that the common people were but indifferently lodged; and that the mansions of the great were more magnificent than comfortable.

The arts of mining, of refining and working metals, ^{Metallic} so useful in themselves, and so necessary to all the other ^{arts.} arts, were greatly improved in England in the fourteenth century, as appears from the brief delineation of them in

(25) Stow's Annals, p. 380.

(26) J. Rossi Hist. Ang. p. 122.

the fifth chapter of the fourth book of this work (27), to which the reader is referred. We have no reason to think that any of the metallic arts declined, but rather that they were improved and multiplied in our present period. The efforts of ingenious men to discover an universal medicine, and a method of refining the baser metals into gold and silver, were more strenuous and more encouraged in this than in any preceding period; and though these efforts did not succeed to their wish, they improved their knowledge of the nature of metals, and of the art of working them. Those wars which were hurtful to other arts and artists, were favourable to those employed in fabricating defensive armour and offensive arms, with which every man, both in England and Scotland, was obliged by law to be furnished.

Mining.

Though tin and lead had long been staple commodities of England, and valuable articles of export, the English miners were not believed to be so skilful in their profession as those of Germany. Henry VI. therefore, having failed in all his attempts to procure the precious metals by alchymy, brought over, A. D. 1452, Michael Goffeleyn, George Hartryke, Matthew Laweston, three famous miners, with thirty other miners, from Bohemia, Austria, and Hungary, to superintend and work the royal mines, and instruct his subjects in their art (28). Of the success of this project we have no account.

Gilding.

As gold and silver were very scarce in England in this period, the art of gilding a great variety of goods made of baser metals, to give them the appearance of plate, was much practised; and some of these gilders had so much art, and so little honesty, as to sell their gilded wares at the price of real plate. To punish such as should be guilty of this gross imposition, and also to prevent the use, or rather the waste, of too much gold and silver in gilding, it was enacted by parliament, A. D. 1403, "That no artificer, nor other man, whatsoever he be, from henceforth shall gilt, nor silver any locks, rings, beads, candlesticks, harness of girdles, chalices, hilts, nor pomels of swords, powder-boxes, nor covers for

(27) See the fourth volume.

(28) Rym. Fœd. tom. II. p. 317.

“ cups, made of copper or latten, upon pain to forfeit
 “ to the king cs. at every time that he shall be found
 “ guilty, and to make satisfaction to the party grieved
 “ for his damages ; but that (chalices excepted) the said
 “ artificers may work, or cause to be wrought, ornaments
 “ for the church of copper and latten, and the same gilt
 “ or silver ; so that always in the foot, or in some other
 “ part of every such ornament so to be made, the copper
 “ and the latten shall be plain, to the intent that a man
 “ may see whereof the thing is made, for to eschew the
 “ deceit aforesaid (29) ” By a subsequent law, gilders
 were still further limited ; and embroiderers having
 been guilty of similar frauds, were subjected to similar
 penalties (30).

It hath been justly observed, that as arts are improved, ^{Division of}labour is more and more divided ; and that this division of ^{labour.}labour contributes to their further improvement (31). The
 manufacturers of metals in England were now divided into
 many branches, and many articles of hard-ware were manu-
 factured by them, that had formerly been imported. In
 consequence of petitions to the last parliament of this
 period, from the pinners, cutlers, blade-smiths, black-
 smiths, spurriers, gold-beaters, founders, card-makers,
 wiremongers, coppersmiths, of London and other cities,
 towns, boroughs, and villages, an act was made, pro-
 hibiting the importation of all the following articles—
 Harness for girdles, pins, knives, hangers, tailors-
 shears, sissors, andirons, tongs, fire-forks, gridirons,
 stock-locks, keys, hinges, and garnets, spurs, beaten
 gold or beaten silver wrought in papers for painters, horse
 harness, bits, stirrups, buckles, chains, latten nails with
 iron shanks, turnels, standing candlesticks, hanging can-
 dlesticks, holy water stops, chaffing-dishes, hanging lavers,
 curtain-rings, cards for wool (except Roan cards), clasps
 for gowns, buckles for shoes, broaches, bells (except
 hawks-bells), tin and leaden spoons, wire of latten and
 iron, iron candlesticks, grates, or any other article ma-
 nufactured by the petitioners (32). This is a sufficient

(29) Statutes, 5th Hen. IV. ch. 23.

(30) Ibid. 8th Hen. V. ch. 3.; 2d Hen. VI. ch. 9.

(31) See Dr. Smith's excellent work on the Wealth of Nations,
 vol. 1.

(32) Statutes, 1st Rich. III. ch. 12.

proof, to which others might be added, that the metallic arts were improved, multiplied, and diffused, in the course of this period ; though they were but still in their infancy, in comparison to the magnitude, multiplicity, and perfection, at which they have since arrived.

Clothing
arts.

The great importance of the clothing arts, particularly of the woollen manufacture, was now so well understood in England, that the calamities and confusions of war only retarded, but could not prevent, the progress and improvement of those arts, and of that manufacture. The English had at length discovered and regarded these two obvious truths ;—That it was better to manufacture their own clothing of their own wool at home, than to pay foreigners abroad for doing it ;—and that wool made into cloth was a more valuable article of export, than in the fleece. Kings and parliaments, in the preceding period, endeavoured to induce and compel the people to act upon these maxims, by making severe laws against the exportation of wool and the importation of cloth (33). By the operation of these laws, and other concurring causes, the number and skill of the people employed in the woollen manufacture gradually increased ; and at the beginning of this period, that most valuable manufacture, which hath contributed so much to the prosperity and wealth of England, was widely diffused and firmly established (34).

Laws for
their encourage-
ment.

Though the kings, lords, and commons of England, in this period, were too much engaged in war, they did not neglect an object of so great importance as the woollen manufacture. On the contrary, no fewer than twelve acts of parliament were made in the short and turbulent reign of Henry IV. for the regulation and encouragement of that manufacture ; for preventing the exportation of wool and importation of cloth ; and for guarding against frauds in the fabrication of it at home (35). Henry V. was too much engaged in projects of ambition and conquest to pay proper attention to manufactures ; but in the succeeding reigns, a great number of statutes were

(33) See vol. 4. book 4. ch. 5. § 1.

(34) Anderson's Hist. Com. vol. 1. p. 229.

(35) See Statutes temp. Hen. IV.

made for the improvement of the clothing arts (36). From these statutes, which afford the best historical evidence, it plainly appears, that the woollen manufacture had now spread from one end of England to the other, and produced, not only sufficient quantities of cloths of various kinds for home consumpt, but also great quantities for exportation.

The arts of spinning, throwing, and weaving silk, ^{Silk.} were brought into England in this period, and practised by a company of women in London, called *silk-women*. Upon a petition of this female company to parliament, A. D. 1455, representing, that the Lombards and other Italians imported such quantities of silk thread, ribbons, corsets, &c. that they were in danger of being reduced to great poverty, an act was made for prohibiting the importation of any of the articles manufactured by these silk-women (37). These articles consisted only of laces, ribbons, and such narrow fabrics, in no great quantities. From such small beginnings did the present silk manufacture of England derive its origin. Towards the end of this period, about A. D. 1480, men began to engage in the silk manufacture, which, before that time, had been wholly performed by women (38).

As the destructive art of war was much studied and ^{Art of war.} practised, it was also much improved, in this period; and various changes were introduced in the manner of railing, forming, and paying armies, in their arms, operations, discipline, &c. The most important of these improvements and changes shall be described in as few words as possible.

The feudal military services were always performed with ^{Raising} reluctance, gradually decreased in efficacy, and at this ^{armies.} time were not to be depended upon for railing an army, especially for a foreign expedition. When such an expedition, therefore, was intended, our kings raised the best part of their armies, by entering into indentures with their own dukes, earls, barons, and knights, and with foreign chieftains; who engaged to serve them, on a certain expedition (described in the indenture), for a certain

(36) See Statutes temp. Hen. VI. Edw. IV. Rich. III.

(37) Statutes. 33d Hen. VI. ch. 5.

(38) 22d Edw. IV. ch. 3.

time, with a stipulated number of men at arms and archers, at a fixed price. These indentures contained several other covenants and regulations respecting the service, which makes it proper to lay the substance of one of them before the reader. By an indenture between Henry V. and Henry lord Scroope, it is stipulated, That the said lord Scroope shall attend and serve the king, one year, in an expedition into France, with thirty men at arms, and ninety archers on horseback; himself to be one of the men at arms; the rest to consist of three knights and twenty-six esquires:—That lord Scroope shall receive for his own daily pay, 4s.; for each of the knights, 2s.; for each of the esquires, 1s.; and for each of the archers, 6d.:—That, besides this pay, the lord Scroope shall receive the usual *regard* (or *douceur*), at the rate of 100 marks per quarter, for thirty men at arms:—That all prisoners taken by lord Scroope and his troops, in the said expedition, shall belong to him, except kings, kings sons, generals, and chieftains, who shall be delivered to the king, on his paying a reasonable ransom to the captors. The other articles relate to the securities and terms of payment, the time and manner of musters, &c. and are not very material. This indenture was made 29th April A. D. 1415, when Henry V. was preparing for his first expedition into France; about which time many others of the same kind were concluded (39).

Continued.

The chieftains, who contracted with the king to serve him with a certain number of troops, made similar contracts with small bodies of men at arms and archers, to make up that number. Thus, for example, Thomas earl of Salisbury engaged, by an indenture dated June 1, A. D. 1415, William Bydyk, Esq; a man at arms, to serve under him with ten archers, for one year, in the intended expedition into France, at the daily pay of 1s. for himself, and 6d. for each of his archers. From this contract it appears, that the *regard* (as it was called), at the rate of 100 marks per quarter for every thirty men at arms, belonged wholly to the chieftain, to enable him to keep a table for his men at arms; and that he had also a right to the third part of all the plunder, and of the ransom of all the prisoners taken by those under his com-

mand (40). These military contracts were very beneficial to the great barons of those times, which made them fond of war, especially of foreign expeditions, by which many of them were greatly enriched in the victorious reign of Henry V.; though their country was almost ruined by their pernicious victories.

We cannot but observe, that the pay of soldiers ^{of} ^{Pay of} ^{soldiers.} all ranks, in an army raised in this manner, was very high. The daily pay of a duke was one mark, equivalent to about 7l. of our money; of an earl, 6s. 8d. equivalent to 3l. 10s.; of a baron, 4s. equivalent to 2l.; of a knight, 2s. equivalent to 1l.; of an esquire or man at arms, 1s. equivalent to 10s.; of an archer, 6d. equivalent to 5s. (41). The pretences for this high pay were these,—the shortness of the service, and the great expences they were at in furnishing themselves with horses, armour, arms, clothing, victuals, servants, and every thing, except shipping and artillery. But however just these pretences might be, the expence of an army of this kind soon exhausted all the revenues of the crown, and almost all the resources of the country. Henry V. had not only expended all the treasure he had been amassing for two years, by borrowing, and every other art, but was obliged to pawn his crown, and his most valuable jewels, before he embarked on his first expedition against France (42). When will posterity profit by the errors of their ancestors?

When an invasion or rebellion was apprehended, and ^{Different} ^{method.} a great army to be raised in a short time, to repel the one, or suppress the other, a different and less expensive method was pursued. The king summoned all the military tenants of the crown to attend him in arms; sent letters to the archbishops, bishops, deans, archdeacons, abbots, and priors, to arm and array all their clergy, to defend the church and kingdom against the enemies of God and the king; and issued proclamations to the sheriffs of the several counties, commanding them to array all the able-bodied men in their counties, between the age of sixteen and sixty; at the same time granting commissions to certain knights and gentlemen in each county,

(40) Rym. Fæd. tom. 9. p. 258.

(41) Rym. Fæd. tom. 9. p. 227.

(42) Id. *ibid.* p. 257. 284, 285.

to divide the men, when raised, into regiments of 1000, and companies of 100, and parties of 20, to train and conduct them to the place of rendezvous (43). By these means very great armies were raised, in a few weeks, at a very small expence. On pressing occasions, the great barons made voluntary offers to serve the king with a certain number of knights, men at arms, and archers, without pay or reward; and some of them to fit out ships, at their own expence, for the protection of the coasts (44).

Discipline. Armies that were so suddenly raised, and, after a short service, as suddenly dismissed, could not be well disciplined. Henry V. seems to have been the first of our kings who was sensible of the importance of regular movements and united efforts; and was at much pains to teach his troops to march in straight lines, at proper distances, with a steady measured pace, to advance, attack, halt, and even fall back, at the word of command, without breaking their ranks. This discipline, imperfect as it was, gave him great advantages over the French, who in those times were almost as tumultuary in advancing to an attack, as in flying from a defeat. To this superior discipline of his troops that prince was indebted for his success in general, and particularly for his great victory at Agincourt; as appears from the account given of that famous battle, and from the contemporary historians, from whom that account is taken (45).

Archers. Though the men at arms, covered with polished armour from head to foot, and mounted on great horses, were the most splendid and most expensive, they were not the most useful troops. The archers formed the chief strength of the English armies, and were the great instruments of all their victories in this period. The archers sometimes gained great victories without the least assistance from the men at arms; as, particularly, the decisive victory over the Scots at Hamildon, A. D. 1402. In that bloody battle, the men at arms did not strike a stroke, but were mere spectators of the valour and victory of the archers (46). The earl of Douglas, who commanded

(43) Rym. Fœd. tom. 8. p. 123. 138. 146. 270; tom. 9. p. 216. 253. &c.

(44) Id. tom. 8. p. 126.

(45) See chap. 1. p. 51.

(46) Otterbourne, p. 236. Walsing. p. 366.

the Scotch army in that action, enraged to see his men falling thick around him, by showers of arrows, and trusting to the goodness of his armour (which had been three years in making), accompanied by about eighty lords, knights, and gentlemen, in complete armour, rushed forward, and attacked the English archers, sword in hand. But he soon had reason to repent his rashness. The English arrows were so sharp and strong, and discharged with so much force, that no armour could repel them. The earl of Douglas, after receiving five wounds, was made prisoner; and all his brave companions were either killed or taken (47). Philip de Comines acknowledges, what our own writers assert, that the English archers excelled those of every other nation; and sir John Fortescue says again and again,—“that the might of the “realme of England standyth upon archers (48).” The superior dexterity of their archers gave the English a great advantage over their capital enemies, the French and Scots. The French depended chiefly on their men at arms, and the Scots on their pikemen; but the ranks of both were often thinned and thrown into disorder by flights of arrows before they could reach their enemies.

James I. who had seen and admired the dexterity of ^{In Scotland.} the English archers, and who was himself an excellent archer, endeavoured to revive the exercise of archery among his own subjects, by whom it had been too much neglected (49). With this view, he ridiculed their awkward manner of handling their bows, in his humorous poem of Christ's Kirk on the Green; and procured the following law to be made in his first parliament, A. D. 1424, immediately after his return to Scotland: “That
 “all men busk thame to be archares fra the be 12 years
 “of age, and that at ilk ten pundis worth of land thair
 “be made bow markes, and specialle near parochie
 “kirks, quhairn upon halie dayis men may cum, and
 “at the leist schute thryse about, and have usage of ar-
 “charie; and quhasa usis not archarie, the laird of the
 “land fall rais of him a wedder; and giff the laird raisis

(47) *Id. ibid.*

(48) Fortescue on the Difference between an absolute and limited Monarchy, p. 88. 90. Philip de Comines, t. 1. p. 27.

(49) *Scoticron. lib. 16. c. 28.*

“ not the said pane, the king’s shiref or his ministers
 “ fall rais it to the king (50).” But the untimely death
 of that excellent prince prevented the effectual execution
 of this law.

Fire-arms.

It hath been already observed, that the changes introduced into the art of war by the invention of gunpowder were very slow (51). The martial adventurers of those times were not fond of changing the arms to which they had been accustomed; and it was difficult to find instruments to manage and direct an agent so impetuous as gunpowder. The instruments employed to that purpose, for almost two centuries, were called by the general name of *cannon*, though they were of many different kinds, shapes, and sizes, distinguished from each other by particular names, as *culverines*, *serpentes*, *basilisks*, *fowlers*, *scorpions*, &c (52). All these ancient cannons were made of iron only, without any mixture, till towards the end of this period, when a mixed and harder metal was invented, called *font metal* or *bronze* (53).

Cannon.

The cannons of this period were of very different sizes, some of them exceedingly large, and others very small. We read of some cannons that discharged balls of 500 pounds weight, and required fifty horses to draw them, and of others not much heavier than a musket; and between these two extremes there were many gradations. Monstrelet mentions a cannon cast by John Magué, a famous founder, A. D. 1478, that threw a ball of 500 lb. from the Bastile to Charenton; and Philip de Comines acquaints us, that there were 10,000 men armed with *culverines* in the Swiss army at the famous battle of Morat, A. D. 1470 (54). These small *culverines*, or hand-cannon, as they were sometimes called, were carried some of them by one man, and some of them by two men, and fired from a rest. They seem to have been first brought into Britain by the Flemings who accompanied Edward IV. in his return to England, A. D. 1471; for these troops, in number 300, were armed, it is said, with hand-guns (55).

(50) Black Act, fol. 4.

(51) See vol. 4. ch. 5 § 1.

(52) Rym. Fœd. tom. 12. p. 140. Daniel, *Milice Française*, tom. 1. p. 322. (53) *Id. ibid.* p. 325.

(54) Monstrelet *Contin.* p. 69. Comines, lib. 5. c. 3.

(55) Leland’s *Collectanea*, vol. 2. p. 503.

The Scots had a kind of artillery peculiar to them—^{Carts of war.} *carts of war*. They are thus described in an act of parliament, A. D. 1456: “It is
 “thocht speidfull, that the king mak requiest to certain
 “of the great burrous of the land that are of ony myght,
 “to mak carts of weir, and in ilk cart twa gunnis, and
 “ilk ane to have twa chalmers, with the remanent of the
 “graith that effeirs thereto, and an cunnand man to shute
 “thame.” By another act, A. D. 1471, the prelates and
 barons are commanded to provide such carts of war against
 their old enemies the English (56).

Many of the cannon-balls used in this period were ^{Balls of stone.} made of stone. Henry V. gave a commission, A. D. 1419, to John Louth, clerk of the ordnance, and John Bennet, mason in Maidstone, to press a sufficient number of masons to make 7000 cannon-balls, in the quarries of Maidstone-heath (57). Even towards the end of this period, some of the cannon-balls were made of stone, and others of metal. Edward IV. gave a commission to one William Temple, A. D. 1481, to press masons, smiths, and plumbers, to make cannon-balls, some of stone, some of iron, and some of lead (58). It is a curious and well-attested fact, that the art of discharging red-hot balls from cannon was known and practised early in this period. When an English army, commanded by the duke of Gloucester, besieged Cherburg, A. D. 1418, the besieged (as we are told by a contemporary writer of the best credit) discharged red-hot balls of iron from their cannon into the English camp, to burn the huts in which the soldiers were lodged (59).

The cannon that were used in ships of war in this pe- ^{Ship guns.} riod were few in number, and of a small size. This appears from the following authentic account of the furniture of the ship called the Queen's-hall, in which Henry IV. sent his daughter Philippa, queen of Sweden, Denmark, and Norway, to her husband. Henry Somer, keeper of the private wardrobe in the Tower, delivered to William Lovency, treasurer to queen Philippa, for the armament of her ship—2 guns—40 pounds of pow-

(56) Black Acts, James II. a^d 52. James III. a^d 55.

(57) Ry. m. Ford. tom. 9. p. 542.

(58) Id. tom. 12. p. 140.

(59) Thomas de Elmham, Vita Hen. V. p. 155.

der for these guns—40 stone balls—40 tompons—1 mallet—2 fire-pans—40 pavises—24 bows—and 40 shefts of arrows (60). From the above account, it is probable that each of these guns required only one pound of powder for a charge. But when ships were fitted out for a warlike expedition, they were a little better armed.

Field artillery.

Gunpowder and cannon were not much used in fields of battle for a considerable time after they were invented. Though they were sometimes used before, Edward IV. was the first king of England who depended much on his field-pieces, or derived any great advantage from them. In the battle of Stamford, fought by that prince against a numerous army of his rebellious subjects, commanded by sir Robert Wells, “the king (we are informed by a “contemporary historian) sparkled his enemies with “his ordinance, slew many of the commons, and there- “by gained the victory (61).” The train of field-artillery prepared by Edward, A. D. 1481, to repel a formidable invasion threatened by the Scots, must have been considerable, since it required a great number of oxen and horses to draw it, and consisted of six or seven different kinds of cannon (62).

Art of attacking forts.

No part of the military art was more studied, or better understood, by the English in this period, especially in the reign of Henry V. than that of attacking strong places. That heroic prince had no opportunity of fighting many battles; but he besieged and took many cities, towns, and castles, that were strongly fortified, bravely defended, and believed to be impregnable. These sieges are described at considerable length by two contemporary historians; from whose writings the following very brief account of the modes of the attack and defence of places in this period is collected (63).

Continued.

When Henry V. had invested a city or town where he expected a vigorous resistance, and apprehended an attempt to raise the siege, he secured his army from the besieged by lines of contravallation, and from the enemy without, by lines of circumvallation, strengthened by pallisadoes, and small towers of wood at proper dis-

(60) Rym. Fœd. tom 8. p. 447.

(61) Leland's Collectanea, vol. 2. p. 502.

(62) Rym. Fœd. tom 12. p. 140.

(63) See Monstrelet, tom. 1. Thomas de Elmham, *passim*.

tances. In summer he lodged his men in tents, and in winter in huts, disposed in regular streets. Approaches were made by trenches; batteries were constructed, and planted with machines for throwing great stones, and with battering cannon to make breaches in the walls. Under the protection of the artillery, the ditch was filled up with branches of trees, earth, and stones. In the mean time, the miners were employed in making approaches under ground; and these being sometimes met by counterminers, bloody skirmishes were fought between the besiegers and besieged. In these skirmishes in the mines Henry himself frequently engaged. The besiegers and besieged annoyed each other by flights of quarrels from their cross-bows, and by large bodies of combustible materials set on fire and discharged from engines. By these means Henry took every city, town, and castle in France, that he besieged, either in person or by his generals, though some of them were defended, with great bravery, to the last extremity.

An art was invented on the continent, and introduced into this island, in this period, which, though it cannot be called necessary, is certainly most excellent and useful. This was the art of printing; which hath contributed so much to dispel that darkness in which the world was involved, and diffuse the light of religion, learning, and knowledge of all kinds. But though printing hath thrown much light on every other subject, its own origin remains in some obscurity; and there have been many disputes about the time when, the place where, and person by whom, it was invented. Without entering into these disputes (in which Britain is not concerned), it may be sufficient to say, that, upon the whole, it seems most probable, that Laurentius Coster, keeper of the cathedral of Haerlem, conceived the first idea of printing about A. D. 1430; and between that time and A. D. 1440, when he died, printed several small books in that city, with wooden types tied together with threads. As this art was likely to be very profitable, Laurentius kept the secret with great care, and wished to transmit it to his family. But this design did not succeed. For about the time of his death, John Geinsfleisch, one of his workmen, made his escape from Haerlem, carrying with him, it is said, some of his master's types, and retired to Mentz, and there began to print with wooden types, A. D. 1441, being

being encouraged and supplied with money by John Fust, a wealthy citizen. About two years after he settled at Mentz, John Geinsfleisch, or his assistant John Gutenberg, invented metal-types, and set them in frames; which was so great an improvement, that the city of Mentz claimed the honour of being the place where printing was invented (64). From Haerlem and Mentz, this noble art was gradually conveyed to other cities of Germany, Italy, France, England, and other countries.

In England. All our historians and other writers, who flourished in or near those times, and mention the introduction of printing into England, unanimously, and without hesitation, ascribe that honour to Mr. William Caxton, mercer and citizen of London (65). Attempts have since been made to deprive him of that honour, in favour of one Corfellis, who, it is pretended, printed here some years before him. But the story of Corfellis is in many particulars improbable; and there seem still to be good reason to believe that Mr. Caxton was really the first printer of England (66). This modest, worthy, and industrious man hath been already noticed as an industrious historian; he was also the translator of many books out of French into English; but he merited most of his country by introducing the art of printing. After he had served his apprenticeship to an eminent mercer in London, he went into the Low Countries, A. D. 1442, as agent to the mercers company, and resided abroad about thirty years. He was appointed by Edward IV. A. D. 1464, his ambassador to negotiate a treaty of commerce with Philip duke of Burgundy, one of the greatest princes in Europe; and when the lady Margaret, king Edward's sister, was married to Charles duke of Burgundy, A. D. 1468, he was greatly favoured and much employed by that active princess (67). Though Mr. Caxton was now about fifty-six years of age, being a man of great curiosity and indefatigable industry, he acquired, "at grete charge and dispenſe" (as he says himself), so

(64) See Meerman, Mattaire, Marchand, Palmer, Ames, &c. on the history of printing.

(65) See Dr. Middleton's works, 4to. vol. 3. p. 245.

(66) *Id.* *ibid.*

(67) Rym. Fœd. tom. 11. p. 591.

complete a knowledge of the new and admired art of printing, that he actually printed, A. D. 1471, at Cologne, a book which he had translated out of the French into English, called *The Recule of the Histories of Troye* (68). Having presented a copy of this book to his patroness, the duchess of Burgundy, for which he was well rewarded, and disposed of as many copies as he could on the continent, he came over to England, A. D. 1472, bringing with him the remaining copies, as specimens of his skill in the art (69). Encouraged by Thomas Miling, abbot of Westminster, and others, he set up a printing-press, A. D. 1475, most probably in the almonry of Westminster-abbey, where it is certain he wrought a few years after; and from that press he produced, in March A. D. 1474, a small book translated by himself out of French, called *The Game at Chesse*, which is the first book we know with certainty was printed in England (70). From this time to his death, A. D. 1491, he applied with so much ardour to translating and printing, that though he was an old man, he published about fifty books, some of them large volumes, and many of them translated by himself (71). How productive is incessant labour, and how worthy are such men as Caxton of a place in the history of their country?

Though Mr. Caxton was the first, he was not the only ^{Printers;} printer in England in this period. Theodore Rood, John Lettow, William Machelina, and Wynkyn de Worde, foreigners, and Thomas Hunt, an Englishman, printed in London both before and after the death of Mr. Caxton; by whom, it is probable, the foreigners were brought into England, and employed as his assistants (72). A schoolmaster of St. Alban's, whose name is not preserved, set up a press at that place; and several books were printed at Oxford between A. D. 1478 and 1485 (73). In the colophon of one of the books

(68) Ames, p. 2—5.

(69) Middleton, p. 249.

(70) Middleton, p. 249. Ames, p. 5.

(71) Id. *ibid.* See *Biographia Britannica*, in Caxton.

(72) Ames, p. 76—110. Middleton, p. 240.

(73) Id. p. 239. 243.

printed there in the last of these years, are the following verses :

Celatos, Veneti, nobis transmittere libros
Cedite, nos aliis vendimus, O Veneti !

which seem to indicate, that the English printers were not only able to answer the demand for books at home, but even exported some of their works (74).

In Scotland. No book hath yet been discovered printed in Scotland in this period. But it is highly probably that the first productions of the Scottish press perished in the almost total destruction of the cathedral and monastic libraries at the Reformation. The Scots had great intercourse with the Low Countries, where that art was much practised. James III. was exceedingly fond of the arts, and of artists, and no less fond of books ; and therefore could not but wish to introduce this admired art into his dominions. I have now before me a large, beautiful, and splendid book, which belonged to that prince, as appears from the following inscription, in the handwriting of those times, on the blank leaf fronting the title-page :—*Iste liber pertinet Excellentissimo et Inviictissimo Principi Jacobo Tertio, Dei gratia, Scotorum Regi Illustrissimo.* A little below is the king's subscription, *Jacobus Tertius R.* in a very strong and beautiful hand. It is a voluminous system of scholastic moral philosophy, called *Speculum Moralitatis* (the Mirror of Morality), composed by the famous Dr. Vincentius, consisting of 278 leaves in large folio, of very thick and white paper, without signatures, catchwords, pages, or folios, beautifully printed in two columns, and in some places finely illuminated. At the end is this colophon : *Vincentii Speculi Moralitatis liber secundus, in quo de quatuor novissimis differitur, finit feliciter * * **, without printer's name, place, or date. But from the form of the letter, the great number of abbreviations, the want of signatures, catchwords, and folios, and some other marks, it appears to have been printed about A. D. 1470, most probably at Venice. This is indeed no proof that printing

was introduced into Scotland in this period ; but it is a proof that James III. was at the pains and expence of procuring the most splendid and voluminous productions of the press from foreign countries.

SECTION II.

History of the fine and pleasing Arts of Sculpture, Painting, Poetry, and Music, in Britain, from A. D. 1400 to A. D. 1485.

IF the frequent wars in which the people of Britain were engaged in this period were unfriendly to the necessary, they could not be favourable to the fine and pleasing arts ; and if any of these flourished, it must have been owing to some accidental circumstances. For the muses and the graces naturally fly from scenes of tumult and devastation, and delight in the calm and security of national prosperity and peace. A very brief account, therefore, of these arts, in this place, will be sufficient.

We have good reason to believe, that sculptors and statuaries were more employed, and better rewarded for their works, in this than in any former period, which must have contributed to the improvement of their art. The followers of Wickliffe condemned the worship of images in the strongest terms ; and several of them submitted to suffer the most painful death, rather than to acknowledge the lawfulness of that worship (1). This alarmed the clergy, and made them redouble their efforts to inspire the minds of the people with a superstitious veneration for images. With this view, they not only propagated many stories of miracles wrought by images, but they increased the number of them, and grudged no expence to procure such as, by the excellence of their workmanship, the beauty of their appearance, and the

(1) Fox, p. 476, 477.

richness of their dress, were likely to excite the admiration, and inflame the devotion, of the multitude towards them (2). These efforts were not unsuccessful. There was no time in which the worship of images more prevailed, than in the age immediately before the reformation; nor was there any thing which the people of England then relinquished with greater reluctance, than the images in their churches. These, however, were at length completely removed and destroyed; which puts it out of our power to judge by inspection of the degree of excellence to which sculpture had arrived in this period. A few statues still remain in niches, on the outside of some of our cathedrals, particularly on the west end of the cathedral of Wells; and though these outside statues were probably not the works of the best artists, they afford no unfavourable specimen of this art in those times (3).

Statues.

The taste of adorning sepulchral monuments with statues, and figures in basso and alto relievo, prevailed as much, both in Britain and on the continent, in this as in any period; and this taste procured much employment to the sculptor and statuary. Many of these monuments with their statues, were defaced or ruined with the conventual churches in which they were placed; but those on the monuments in other churches escaped much better than the images which had been objects of adoration; and great numbers of them are still remaining (4). If we had proper drawings and descriptions of these monuments, with their statues and other ornaments, they would not appear inferior to those of France, of which very elegant drawings and descriptions have been published (5). For we know with certainty that English artists were employed in erecting monuments for some of the greatest princes on the continent. Thomas Colyn, Thomas Holewell, and Thomas Poppehow, made the alabaster tomb of John IV. duke of Brittany, in London, carried it over, and erected it in the cathedral of

(2) *Id.* p. 489, &c.

(3) *Brown Willes Metr. Abb.* vol. 2. p. 375. *Watson on Spencer*, vol. 2. p. 197.

(4) *Strut*, vol. 3. p. 184.

(5) *See Montfaucon, Monuments François*, tom. 3.

Nantes, A. D. 1408 (6). We know also, that the great English barons of those times expended much money on their monuments, and employed, in executing them, the best artists that could be found (7). A few of these artists were foreigners; but the greatest number of them were natives of England. Of the five artists who were employed in erecting the monument of Richard Beauchamp earl of Warwick (who died A. D. 1439), and adorning it with images, four were Englishmen, viz. two marblers, one founder, and one coppersmith; the other artist was a Dutch goldsmith. The number of images adorning this monument was thirty-two, besides the great image of the earl. These were all cast of the finest latten, by William Austin, founder of London, and gilded with gold, by Bartholomew Lambespring, the Dutch goldsmith (8). Though the beauty of this monument, and its various ornaments, is much impaired by time, yet some parts of it are in such preservation, as to give us a favourable idea of the skill of these artists, and of the improving state of their several arts. This monument, with the chapel of our lady in St. Mary's church, Warwick, in which it was erected, cost 248*l.* 4*s.* 7*d.* equivalent to 24,800*l.* of our money at present (9). In a word, in an age when hardly any person of rank or wealth died who had not a monument erected to his memory, with his effigies, in free-stone, marble, or metal upon it, the artists who were employed in erecting these monuments, having so much employment, and so great encouragement, could not fail to make improvements in their arts.

The reigning superstitions of those times, with the vanity of the rich and great, contributed as much to the improvement of painting, as of the arts above mentioned, by furnishing constant employment, and good encouragement, to a great number of painters. For as cathedral, conventual, and other rich churches, were crowded with crucifixes and images, and their chapels with sepulchral

(6) Rym. Feed. tom. 8. p. 510.

(7) See Monumenta Westmonasteriensia. Weaver's Funeral Monuments. Dugdale's Warwickshire. Stow's Survey, &c. &c.

(8) Dugdale's Warwickshire, vol. 1. p. 445, 446.

(9) Dugdale's Warwickshire, vol. 1. p. 447.

statues, so the walls of both were almost covered, and their windows almost obscured, with paintings of various kinds; as pictures of our Saviour, the Virgin Mary, the apostles, and other saints, scripture-histories, allegorical and armorial pieces, &c. All these paintings have been long ago destroyed, except a few fragments of painted glais; but we have sufficient evidence that they did exist, and that many of them were painted in this period.

“ John Carpenter, town-clerk of London, in the reign of Henry V. caused, with great expences, to be curiously painted upon board, about the north cloister of St. Paul’s, a monument of Death, leading all estates, with the speeches of Death, and answer of every state (10).” This famous picture, called the *Dance of Death*, contained the figures of persons in all the different ranks of life, in their proper dresses, and was painted in imitation of one of the same kind, in the cloister adjoining to St. Innocent’s church-yard in Paris. The French verses were translated into English by John Lydgate, the poetick monk of Bury (11). The expence of painting the above-mentioned monument of Richard earl of Warwick, and the chapel, was considerable; and these paintings were of different kinds, and performed by different artists. John Prudde, glazier in Westminster, engaged to glaze the chapel “ with glais from beyond the seas, of the finest colours, of blue, yellow, red, purple, sanguine, and violet, and of all other colours that shall be most necessary and best, to make rich and embellish the matters, images, and stories, that shall be delivered to him, by patterns on paper, afterwards to be newly traced and pictured by another painter, in rich colour, at his charges (12).” It is not improbable, that the fifty-three delineations, illustrating the history of this earl of Warwick, by John Rouse, who then resided at Warwick (contained in a MS. in the Cotton library), which have been published by Mr. Strutt, are the very patterns that were delivered to John Prudde to be painted on the windows of the chapel, or that these delineations were copied from the win-

(10) Stow’s Survey of London, vol. 1. p. 261.

(11) Dugdale’s St. Paul’s, p. 134. Walpole’s Anecdotes of Painting, vol. 1. p. 71. 8vo.

(12) Dugdale’s Warwickshire, vol. 1. p. 446.

dows after they were painted (13). However this may be, the glass and workmanship cost 108*l.* equivalent to 108*ol.* of our money (14). John Brentwood steyner, of London, covenanted, "to paint fine and curiously on " the west wall of the chapel, the dome of our Lord " God Jesus, and all manner of devices and imagery " thereto belonging, of fair and lightly proportion ;" for which he was to receive 13*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* equivalent to 13*ol.* (15). Christian Coliburne painter in London covenanted " to paint in most fine, fairest, and curious " wise, four images of stone ordained for the new chapel in Warwick ; whereof two principal images, the " one of our Lady, the other of St. Gabriel the angel ; " and two less images, one of St. Anne, and another of " St. George : these four to be painted with the finest " oil colours, in the richest, finest, and freshest clothings " that may be made of fine gold, azure, of fine purple, of fine white, and other finest colours necessary, garnished, bordered, and powdered, in the finest " and curiousest wise (16)." We have no opportunity of knowing with what taste these paintings were executed ; but it was certainly intended that they should be very fine.

Portrait-painting had not yet become fashionable, and we hardly hear of any portraits that were painted in this period, except those of a few great princes, prelates, and nobles (17). As this branch of the art, therefore, was not much cultivated, it was not much improved. The portraits of the kings and queens of England, and of a few other eminent persons of those times, which are still preserved, have been examined by a gentleman of distinguished taste ; and on his authority it may be safely pronounced, that portrait-painting in Britain was then in a very imperfect state (18). In the museum of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland lately established at Edinburgh, by a royal charter, there is a portrait, in oil colours, well preserved, with the following inscription, in Spanish, at the bottom : " The " most excellent and most serene lord T. George Innes,

Portrait-painting.

(13) See Strutt, vol. 3.

(14) Dugdale, vol. 3.

(15) *Id.* *ibid.* p. 447.

(16) *Id.* *ibid.*

(17) See Hon. Mr. Walpole's *Anecdotes of Painting*, ch. 2, 3.

(18) *Id.* *ibid.*

“ a native of Scotland, minister-provincial and vicar-general of England, cardinal, who flourished A. D. 1412, and wrote those books.” The books are painted near the top of the picture on the shelf, with the following titles, in Latin : “ Description of Jerusalem in its deformity—Lamentations of the Holy-land—Griefs of the Virgin Mary—History of the order of the Holy Trinity, for the redemption of captives.” The cardinal is drawn in the habit of the order of the Trinity (in which he made a conspicuous figure, as superior of the convent at Aberdeen, minister-provincial for Scotland, and at last vicar-general for England, Scotland, and Ireland), with the cross of that order on his breast, and the red mantle of a cardinal above his habit. On his head a small red bonnet, and the large red hat on a table before him. In his right hand, extended, he holds a pen, in his left a scroll of paper ; his eyes are lifted up, his face turned a little to one side, with strong expressions of intense thought and contemplation. This picture hath probably been preserved by the care of the ancient and honourable family of Innes in Aberdeenshire, from which the cardinal was descended, and was lately presented to the society by a gentleman of that family. If it was really painted in Spain A. D. 1412, only two years after painting in oil is said to have been invented by John Van Eyck, it affords another presumptive proof, that this invention is more ancient than is commonly believed.

Illumina-
tors.

The illuminators of books supplied the place both of history and portrait-painters in this period, and present us with the pictures of many eminent persons of both sexes, and representations of various transactions, in miniature. This delicate art of illuminating was chiefly cultivated by the monks, and carried to a high degree of perfection. Many beautiful specimens of this art are still remaining in the British museum, and other libraries ; and prints of a considerable number of them have been published by Mr. Strutt (19). Though these prints do not exhibit the bright and vivid colours of the originals, they give us a view, not only of the persons and dresses of our ancestors, but also of their customs, man-

(19) See Strutt's *Ecclesiastical and Civil Antiquities of England*.

ners, arts, and employments, their arms, ships, houses, furniture, &c. and enable us to judge of their skill in drawing and colouring. Their figures are often stiff and formal; but their ornaments are in general fine and delicate, and their colours clear and bright, particularly their gold and azure. In some of these illuminations the passions are strongly painted. How strongly, for example, is terror painted in the faces of the earl of Warwick's sailors, when they were threatened with a shipwreck, and grief in the countenances of those who were present at the death of that hero (20)? After the introduction of printing, this elegant art of illuminating gradually declined, and at length was quite neglected.

Geoffrey Chaucer and John Gower, the illustrious fa- Poetry, thers of English poetry, died in the beginning of this period; and after their death, that pleasing art evidently declined and languished. Of this their successors seem to have been sensible, acknowledged them for their masters, and loaded them with praises.

James I. king of Scotland, an excellent poet, as well as most accomplished prince, concludes his poem called *The King's Quair* with a kind of dedication of it to the memory of these two great poets then lately dead.

Praise of
Chaucer and
Gower by
James I.

Unto impnis of my maisteris dere,
Gowere and Chaucere, that on the steppis satt
Of rethorike, quhill thai were lyvand here,
Superlative as poetis laureate,
In moralitee and eloquence ornate,
I recommend my buk in lynis seven,
And eke their faulis unto the blisse of hevin (21).

Occleve, who seems to have been personally acquainted By Occleve. with Chaucer, and to have received instructions from him in poetry, frequently laments his death in very pathetic strains;

My dere mayster, God his soul quite,
And fader Chaucer sayne would have me taught;

(20) See Strutt, vol. 2. plates 56, 58.

(21) Poetical Remains of James I. p. 162.

But I was dule, and learned lyte or naught.
 Alas! my worthy mayster honourable,
 This londis very trefour and recheffe,
 Deth, by thy deth, hath harme irreparable
 Unto us done (22).

By Lydgate. John Lydgate, the poetic monk of Bury, was no less
 lavish in his praises of Chaucer :

My maister Chaucer
 And if I shall shortly hym describe,
 Was never none to thys daye alyve,
 To reken all, bothe of young and olde,
 That worthy was his inkhorne for to holde (23).

As these three writers, who thus celebrated their illustrious predecessors, were unquestionably the best poets of this period, it is necessary to give a brief account of their genius and principal works.

James I.
 unfortu-
 nate.

As James I. of Scotland was one of the most accomplished princes that ever filled a throne, he was also one of the most unfortunate. After spending almost twenty years in captivity, and encountering many difficulties on his return into his native kingdom, he was murdered by barbarous assassins, in the prime of life. In the monuments of his genius, he hath been almost equally unfortunate. No vestiges are now remaining of his skill in architecture, gardening, and painting; though we are assured by one who was well acquainted with him, that he excelled in all these arts (24). Many of the productions of his pen have also perished; for he tells us himself that he wrote much (25); and we know of only three of his poems that are now extant, viz. Christ's Kirk of the Green—Peebles to the Play—and the King's Quair, which was lately discovered by Mr. Warton, and hath been published by another gentle-

(22) Warton's History of Poetry, vol. 2. p. 42.

(23) Lydgate's Siege of Troy, book 5.

(24) Scotichen lib. 16. cap. 30.

(25) King's Quair, canto 1. Stan. 13.

man (26). But slender as these remains are, they afford sufficient evidence, that the genius of this royal poet was not inferior to that of any of his contemporaries; and that it was equally fitted for the gayest or the gravest strains.

The first of the above-mentioned poems is well known, ^{Christ's} and hath been often printed. It is a ludicrous descrip- ^{Kirk.} tion of a country-wedding, at Christ's Kirk in Aberdeenshire, which began with music and dancing, and ended in a fray. The awkward gambols and merriment of the country-people, and the comical incidents of a quarrel which ensued between two young men, and soon became general, with the ridiculous attitudes, actions, and speeches of the combatants (who threatened much, and performed little), are described in strains of wit and pleasantry highly entertaining to those who understand the language. The last stanza, which describes a cowardly braggadochio, who appeared with terrible threats, after the fray was ended, and when he knew there was no danger, may be given as a specimen :

Quhen all wes done, Dik with ane air
 Cam furth to fell a fuddir (27),
 Quod he, quhair ar yon hangit fmaix,
 Rycht now wald slane my bruder :
 His wif bad him ga hame, Gib glaiks,
 And sa did Meg his muder,
 He turnit, and gaif them baith thair paikis,
 For he durst ding nane uder,
 For feir
 At Christis kirk of the Grene that day.

The historian John Major, who flourished in the end ^{Peebles to} of the fifteenth, and the beginning of the sixteenth cen- ^{the Play.} tury, acquaints us, that in his time several poems which had been composed by James I. were repeated and admired by the people of Scotland; particularly a very witty and pleasant song, which began with these words, "Yas sin, &c." and another with, "At Beltayn (28)."

(26) See Poetical Remains of James I. published by William Tytler of Woodhouselee, Esq. Warton's Hist. Poet. vol. 2. p. 125.

(27) To kill a great number.

(28) J. Major de gestis Scoterum.

It had long been supposed that both these poems were irretrievably lost. The last of them, however, hath been lately recovered and published, with this title, "Pebles to the play (29)." It is in the same kind of stanza and verse with Christ's Kirk of the Green, and with the same pleasantry and humour describes the adventures of a company of country-people, who went to Peebles to see the annual games at that place. This amiable prince seems to have delighted in seeing his subjects in their Sunday's clothes, and in their hours of festivity. The first stanza may be a specimen :

At Beltane, when ilk bodie bownis
 To Pebles to the play,
 To heir the singen and the foundis ;
 The solace, seith to say,
 Be firth and forest furth they found ;
 Thay graythit tham full gay ;
 God wait what wald they do that stound,
 For it was thair feest day,
 Thay said,
 Of Pebles to the play (30).

King's
 Quair.

The chief work of king James now known, is the poem lately published, called the King's Quair, *i. e.* the king's book, consisting of 197 stanzas, of seven lines each, divided into six cantos. It was written in honour of lady Jane Beaufort, his beautiful mistress, afterwards his beloved queen ; and few ladies have had so fine a poem composed in their praise by a royal lover.

Canto 1.

In the first canto, after bewailing the uncomfortable days and restless nights he spent in prison, he tells us, that one morning the bell that rung to matins seemed to call upon him to tell the story of his love, which, after some hesitation, he determined to do, and invoked the aid of the nine muses.

Canto 2.

In the second canto, he relates his sorrowful parting with his friends when he was very young, his capture and imprisonment, and again laments his loss of liberty and long confinement, in very affecting strains. He then

(29) It was discovered by Dr. Percy, and is published in a collection of select Scottish ballads, vol. 2. p. 1.

(30) Collection of select Scottish ballads, vol. 2. p. 1.

comes to the main subject of his poem, the story of his love; and tells us that one morning in May, as he was looking down from the window of his prison in Windfor castle into the garden below, listening to the love-songs of nightingales, and wondering what the passion of love could be, which he had never felt, he adds,

And therewith kest I down myn eye ageyne,
 Quhare as I saw walkyng under the Toure,
 Full secreteley, new cumyn hir to pleyne,
 The fairest or the freschest zounge floure
 That ever I saw, methought, before that houre,
 For quhich sodayne abate, anon astert,
 The blude of all my body to my hert.

He then paints the various emotions of his heart, and the beauties of his mistress, in strong and glowing colours. His invocation of Venus, and his invitation of the nightingales to entertain his lady with their songs, are finely imagined and expressed. At her leaving the garden, he sunk into the deepest melancholy:

To fene her part, and folowe I na might,
 Methought the day was turnyt into nyt, &c.

The third canto proves, that king James possessed the Canto 3.
 most rare and necessary qualification of a great poet, a lively and inventive fancy. He imagined that he was transported in a bright cloud to the planet Venus, and admitted into the palace of the queen of love, where he beheld all who had been the votaries of that divinity divided into different classes, according to their different characters and fortunes. His descriptions of these different classes of lovers discover, that he had acquired an extensive knowledge of mankind, even in the solitude of his prison. The clerical and conventual lovers, who had taken vows of virginity, are thus described:

And estir this, upon yon stage adoun,
 Tho' that thou seis stand in capis wyde;
 Yon were whilom folk of religion,
 That from the world thaire governance did hide,
 And trely servit lufe on every syde,
 In secrete, with thaire bodyis and thaire gudis,
 And lo! why so, they hingen down thaire hudis.

The

The descriptions of Cupid and Venus, his address to that goddess, and her answer, discover an equal richness of expression and invention. Venus, after promising her aid, sends him, under the conduct of Good-Hope, to Minerva for advice.

Canto 4.

The fourth canto contains his journey to the palace of Minerva, his address to that goddess, and her answer. Minerva, after questioning him concerning the nature of his love, and being convinced by his answers that it was of the most sincere, virtuous, and honourable kind, gives him many wise advices, and this amongst others :

Be trewe and meke, and stedfast in thy thot,
And diligent her meici to procure,
Not onely in thy word, for word is not,
Bot gif thy werk and all thy besy cure
Accord thereto———

Minerva then acquaints him, that the success of every enterprise depended on the decree of heaven, which, amongst men, was called Fortune, and directs him to

Pray Fortune help ; for suich unlikely thing
Full oft about she sodeynly dooth bring.

He then took his leave of Minerva, and thus describes his descent from her celestial palace :

. Als straught as ony lyne
Within a bemie, that fro the contree dyvine,
Sche percyng throw the firmament extendit,
To ground ageyne my spirit is descendit.

In these two cantos, the king very artfully contrives to put several fine compliments to his mistress, into the mouths of Venus and Minerva.

Canto 5.

In the fifth canto, he sets out in quest of Fortune, conducted by Good-Hope, and describes the rivers, trees, and animals of the beautiful country through which they travelled, in very poetical language. He found the goddess sitting on the ground, dressed in a party-coloured robe, sometimes frowning and sometimes smiling, with her wheel before her, from which he saw many persons fall headlong into a profound pit, out of which few of them emerged. Having implored her aid for the success of his love, she encouraged him to mount
her

her wheel boldly, to stand firm, and hold fast; but, in assisting him to mount, he says,

... She by the ere me toke
So earnestly, that therewithall I woke.

In the sixth canto, he describes the painful perplexity Canto 6. he was in, to know whether what had passed was a vain dream, or a real vision, which could afford him any solid hopes. In this perplexity, he walked to the window of his prison, where "A turture white as calk" alighted upon his hand, with a stalk of gillyflowers in her beak, which she delivered to him, and took her flight. On the leaves of the flower these verses were written :

Awake! Awake! I bring lufar, I bring
The newis glad, that blifsful ben and sure
Of thy confort; now lauch, and play, and sing,
That art besid so glad an aventure;
For in the hevyn decretit is thy cure.

Having read these verses a hundred times, they dispelled all his fears, and filled him with the most lively transports of joy.

To these six cantos is subjoined an epilogue, in which he pours a profusion of blessings on every person and every thing which had contributed to the success of his love, and paints his own happiness in the purest and strongest colours.

It is with difficulty I restrain myself from giving a fuller view of the long-lost remains of this most amiable and accomplished prince, whose fame hath not been equal to his merits.

Thomas Occleve flourished in the reign of Henry V. Occleve. and composed a considerable number of poems; but as few of them have been thought worthy of publication in print, it will be sufficient to give his character as a poet, in the words of one of the best-informed and most judicious critics of the present age. "Occleve is a feeble writer, considered as a poet; and his chief merit seems to be, that his writings contributed to propagate and establish those improvements in our language which were now beginning to take place.—His works indicate a coldness of genius, and, on the whole,

“ whole, promise no gratification to those who seek for
“ invention and fancy (31).”

Lydgate.

John Lydgate, a monk in the great Benedictine monastery at St. Edmundsbury, was by far the most voluminous, and, in some respects, the best poet of this period. He composed verses on a great variety of subjects, and many different occasions. His principal works, which have been printed, were these four—The Lyfe of our Lady—The Fall of Princes—The Siege of Thebes, and—The Destruction of Troy. Of these and Lydgate's other poems, the reader will find a satisfactory account, with many specimens, in the excellent work quoted below (32). The chief excellencies of this poet were, the smoothness of his versification, and the strength, beauty, and copiousness of his descriptions, in which he abounds; but he seems to have been inferior to his contemporary king James, in originality, and the powers of invention. Lydgate was not only a good poet, but also a general scholar, acquainted with all the learning of the times in which he flourished; and it is no small reproach to those times, that he died in his monastery, at an advanced age, without ever having received any preferment.

**Other
poets.**

Several other poets, or rather versifiers, appeared in this period; but they are not entitled to a place in general history. I am fully convinced, that the poems published a few years ago, under the name of Thomas Rowlic, confessor to William Canning, the famous merchant of Bristol, were neither written by that gentleman, nor by any other person, in this period. It is impossible, however, to peruse these poems, without lamenting the untimely fate of the unhappy youth who was their real author.

**Martial
music.**

As martial music was much used and cultivated in this period, it is probable that it was improved; but of the particulars of these improvements we have no certain information. The band which attended Henry V. in France, consisted of ten clarions, and many other

(31) Warton's History of English Poetry, vol. 2. p. 38.

(32) Id. *ibid.* p. 51—100.

instruments, and played an hour every morning, and another every evening, at the king's head-quarters (33).

Church music was cultivated with as much care and ^{Church} diligence in this as in any preceding period. As the ^{music.} clergy endeavoured to captivate the eyes of the people by the magnificence of their churches, the beauty of their paintings and images, the splendour of their dresses, the pomp of their processions, &c.; so they endeavoured to charm their ears by the sweetness of their music; especially in cathedral and conventual churches, and in the chapels of kings, prelates, and great barons, where the service was daily sung by numerous bands of men and boys, to the sound of organs. This made it necessary for all who assisted in performing the public offices of the church, to acquire a competent knowledge of music, and caused those who excelled in that art to be much admired and well rewarded.

Church music was not merely practised as an art, but ^{Studied as} the theory of it was studied as a science, in this period. ^{a science.} It was one of the four sciences which constituted the quadrivium of the schools; and was studied with greater attention than any of the other three, which were, arithmetic, geometry, and astronomy. A considerable number of the youth who were educated for the church made music their principal study at the universities, in order to obtain the academical honours of bachelors and doctors of music; because those who obtained these honours were almost certain of preferment. Thomas Saintwix, doctor of music, for example, was appointed provost of King's college, in Cambridge, by its founder, Henry VI. A. D. 1463 (34).

Harmony was now superadded to the melody or plain ^{Counter-}chant of the ancient church. ^{point.} Counterpoint was invented, though it was very imperfectly understood. This new art, as it may be called, furnished an ample field for exercising the genius and industry of musical students; and this was the chief subject of their studies. A great number of tracts on counterpoint were written in England and other countries in this period, of which

(33) Monstrelet. lib. 2. ch. 227.

(34) Rym. Fœd. tom. II. p. 510.

the greatest part are lost. Many pieces of this new music were composed for the church, but very few of them have been preserved (35). The honour of inventing counterpoint is ascribed to the English by John Tinctor, one of the best writers on music, in this period. "Of which new art (says he), as I may call it, viz. counterpoint, the fountain and origin is said to have been among the English, of whom Dunstable was the chief or head (36)." In these words, the invention of counterpoint is ascribed to the English, but not to Dunstable, who is only said to have been at the head of the English musicians of his time, of which there is sufficient evidence still remaining (37). John Dunstable, famous for his superior skill in astronomy and music, flourished in the former part of the fifteenth century, and died in London A. D. 1458. Tinctor, who flourished in the same century, could not be ignorant that counterpoint was invented before the birth of Dunstable. It is not improbable, that what Giraldus Cambrensis had written concerning the natural harmony practised by the people of Wales and the north of England in his time, gave rise to the report that counterpoint was invented in England (38).

Studied by
the laity.

Church music was not only admired and studied by the clergy, but it was one of the most pleasing amusements of the laity, and was cultivated with diligence and success by persons of the highest rank. Henry V. was an admirer of church music, and amused himself with playing on the organ (39). His contemporary, James I. of Scotland, was a capital performer on the organ, and even composed several pieces of sacred music for the use of the church (40). James III. being no less fond of music than of the other fine arts, invited the most famous musicians to his court, and loaded them with favours. Sir William Rogers, a musician, was one

(35) See Dr. Burney's History of Music, vol. 2. c. 4, 5. Sir John Hawkins, vol. 3.

(36) Burney, vol. 2. p. 450.

(37) Id. *ibid.* p. 405—412.

(38) See vol. 3.

(39) Thomas de Elmham, p. 12.

(40) Scotiæron, l. 16, c. 28. Alessandro Tassoni, Pensieri Diversi, lib. 10.

of his six unhappy favourites who were put to death at Lauder, A. D. 1482 (41). Ferrerius, an Italian, who wrote the history of this prince, acquaints us, that he had conversed with several celebrated musicians in Italy, who spoke in high terms of the excellence of Scotch music, and the munificence of James III. in whose court, they told him, they had been educated (42). These musicians had probably belonged to that numerous choir which king James established in the chapel of his palace in the castle of Stirling, and had returned into their own country after the death of their royal patron, and carried with them the knowledge of the Scotch music. Not only the kings, princes, and prelates, but all the great and opulent barons of those times, had magnificent chapels in their castles, furnished with organs, musicians, and singers; and these nobles, with their friends and families, attended the services of the church performed in their chapels, as agreeable entertainments as well as acts of devotion (43).

The people of Britain have in all ages delighted in ^{Secular} secular or social music. It is a sufficient proof of this, ^{music.} amongst many others that might be given, that the professors of that art, the scalds and minstrels, were the favourites of the great, and the idols of the people, for many ages. But long and great prosperity had the same effect upon these minstrels, that it hath uniformly had on every order of men. It swelled their numbers beyond all due proportion, increased their avarice, inflamed their pride, and corrupted their manners, and at length lost them that public favour which they had long enjoyed. But though the minstrels began to decline in their credit in the present period, and were neither so highly honoured, nor so richly rewarded, as they had formerly been; yet such of them as excelled in their art were still much respected. Not only all our kings, but almost all the nobility and men of fortune, had bands of these secular musicians or minstrels in their service, who resided in their families, and even attended

(41) See p. 274.

(42) Ferrerii Hist.

(43) See the Northumberland Family-book, p. 323, 324, 367—377.

them in their journies, for their amusement. These domestic minstrels, besides their board, clothing, and wages, which they received from their masters, were permitted to perform in rich monasteries, and in the castles of other barons, upon occasions of festivity, for which they were handsomely rewarded (44). Edward IV. A. D. 1469, on the complaint of Walter Haliday, and his other minstrels, that many ignorant disorderly persons assumed the name of minstrels, and brought the profession into disgrace, “ gave and granted a licence unto Walter Haliday, John Cuff, Robert Marshall, Thomas Grane, Thomas Calthorne, William Cliff, William Christian, and William Eynesham, his minstrels, and their successors, to be one body and community, perpetual, and capable in law (45).” Edward, by the same charter, gave ample powers to this musical corporation, for correcting the disorders, and regulating the affairs, of the minstrels. But this institution neither corrected the disorders, nor retrieved the reputation, of this fraternity.

Much of
it lost.

Many of the poems, songs, and ballads, that were sung by the minstrels and people of this period, have undoubtedly perished; but a considerable number of them have been preserved and published (46). They are of very different degrees of merit, and written on a great variety of subjects; some of them calculated to entertain the great, and others to divert the vulgar. But though the words of these poems are preserved, the tunes to which many of them were originally sung are now unknown; and the most diligent inquirers have been able to discover only a very few specimens of the popular music of this period (47).

Secular
music of

The secular music of Scotland was greatly improved at this time, not by the efforts of professed musicians,

(44) Warton Hist. Poet. vol. 1. p. 91. Northumberland Book, p. 339.

(45) Rym. Fœd. tom. 11. p. 642.

(46) See Reliques of ancient Poetry, Ramsay's Evergreen, and other collections.

(47) Sir John Hawkins, vol. 3. p. 2—17. Dr. Burney, vol. 2. p. 405—412..

but by the ingenuity of one of her monarchs, James I. ^{Scotland improved by James I.} who seems to have been born to excel in every art and science to which he applied his mind. Walter Bower, abbot of Inch-corm, who was intimately acquainted with that prince, assures us, that he excelled all mankind, both in vocal and instrumental music: and that he played on eight different instruments (which he names), and especially on the harp, with such exquisite skill, that he seemed to be inspired (48). King James was not only an excellent performer, but also a capital composer, both of sacred and secular music; and his fame on that account was extensive, and of long duration. Above a century after his death, he was celebrated in Italy as the inventor of a new and pleasing kind of melody, which had been admired and imitated in that country. This appears from the following testimony of Alessandro Tassoni, a writer who was well informed, and of undoubted credit: "We may reckon among us moderns, James king of Scotland, who not only composed many sacred pieces of vocal music, but also of himself invented a new kind of music, plaintive and melancholy, different from all other; in which he hath been imitated by Carlo Gesualdo, prince of Venosa, who, in our age, hath improved music with new and admirable inventions (49)." As the prince of Venosa imitated king James, the other musicians of Italy imitated the prince of Venosa. "The most noble Carlo Gesualdo, the prince of musicians of our age, introduced such a style of modulation, that other musicians yielded the preference to him; and all singers and players on stringed instruments, laying aside that of others, every where embraced his (50)." All the lovers, therefore, of Italian or of Scotch music, are much indebted to the admirable

(48) Scotichron. lib. 16. c. 28.

(49) Alessand. Tass. Pensieri Diversi, lib. 10. Sir John Hawkins, vol. 4. p. 5, 6.

(50) Sir John Hawkins, vol. 3. p. 212.

genius of king James I. who, in the gloom and solitude of a prison, invented a new kind of music, plaintive indeed, and suited to his situation, but at the same time so sweet and soothing, that it hath given pleasure to millions in every succeeding age (51).

(51) For a more complete account of Scotch music, see Mr. Tytler's dissertation subjoined to his edition of the Poetical Remains of James I. Edinburgh, 1783.

THE

T H E
H I S T O R Y
O F
G R E A T B R I T A I N .

B O O K V .

C H A P . VI .

The History of Commerce, Coin, and Shipping in Great Britain, from the accession of Henry IV. A. D. 1399, to the accession of Henry VII. A. D. 1485.

T H E commerce of Great Britain hath at all times ^{Importance} been an object of great importance, and hath contri- ^{of com-} buted so much to the power and riches, to the comfort ^{merce.} and happiness, of its inhabitants, that the state and progress of it merits our attention in every period, and is not unworthy of a place in general history. Triumphs, conquests, and victories, excite a more lively joy at the time when they are obtained, and make a greater figure in the page of history, than the peaceful, silent adventures of the merchant : but if they do not, in the issue, contribute to increase the ships and sailors, and to extend the trade of such a country as Britain, they are of little or no utility,

utility, if they are not pernicious. Such were the celebrated victories obtained by the English in France, under their heroic king, Henry V.; almost equally ruinous to the victors and the vanquished.

Obstruction of trade. The trade of Britain met with many obstructions in the present period, which greatly retarded its progress and extension. The martial spirit that reigned in both the British nations, with the foreign or domestic wars in which they were almost constantly engaged, formed the greatest of these obstructions. In such turbulent times, commerce could not flourish; when war was the only honourable occupation, the merchant was despised, his person and property were unsecure, and exposed to many dangers both by sea and land. As our kings had few ships of their own, whenever they had occasion for a fleet, to fight their enemies or transport their armies, they pressed into their service all the ships as well as all the sailors that could be found; which put a total stop to trade. Thus, to give one example out of many, Henry V. at his first invasion of France, A. D. 1415, pressed all the ships in the ports of England, of twenty tons and upwards, to transport his army, &c. to the continent (1). Even those who were engaged in trade had imbibed so much of the martial, ferocious spirit of the times, that they frequently acted as pirates; and when they met with ships of inferior force, they seized or plundered them, without distinguishing between friends and foes. This obliged the mariners of other nations and their sovereigns to make loud complaints to the court of England; and when they could not obtain redress (which was often the case), they were compelled to make reprisals, which increased the dangers of navigation, and interrupted the intercourse between countries that were not at war (2). It was common for the kings of England and other princes, in this period, to grant letters of marque to a single merchant, empowering him to make reprisals on the subjects of a state with which they were at peace, till he was indemnified for the losses he had sustained from the subjects of that state (3). Besides this, both the Baltic and the British seas were infested with pirates, who seized and

(1) Rym. Fœd. tom. 9. p. 218.

(2) See Hakluyt's Voyage, vol. 1. p. 154—180. Rym. Fœd. tom. 2. p. 269. 273—276. 284. 287.

(3) Id. ibid. p. 96. 755. 773.

plundered the ships of all nations without distinction. Neither the merchants nor the legislators of this period entertained just ideas of trade, or of the most effectual means of promoting it; and we may reckon the monopolizing spirit of the former, and the imprudent regulations of the latter, among the impediments that obstructed its progress. The British merchants considered all foreigners who came amongst them for the sake of trade as interlopers and enemies; and, at their instigation, the legislature laid them under restrictions that were hardly tolerable. It was enacted by the parliament of England, —“ That all foreign merchants should lay out all the money they received for the goods they imported, in English merchandize to be exported—That they should not carry out any gold or silver in coin, plate, or bullion, under the penalty of forfeiture—That they should sell all the goods they imported in the space of three months—That one merchant stranger should not sell any goods in England to another merchant-stranger—That when a foreign merchant arrived in any port or town in England, a sufficient host should be assigned him, with whom he should dwell, and no where else (4).” The parliaments, both of England and Scotland, made many laws against the exportation of gold and silver in any shape, or on any account; not reflecting, that if the balance of trade was against them, that balance must be paid in these precious metals, in spite of all the laws that could be made against it, and that these laws could serve no other purpose but to perplex and distress the merchant.

But the island of Britain is so favourably situated for trade, and the love of gain is so strong and general a passion in the human mind, that all these obstructions, though they retarded, did not wholly prevent the progress of commerce in this period, as will appear from the sequel.

Henry IV. being a wise prince, and knowing the great importance of commerce, promoted it as much as the unsettled state of his affairs permitted. After tedious negotiations, he put an end to the disputes and mutual depredations that had long prevailed between the English merchants and mariners, and those of the Hanse towns

Retarded its progress.

Commercial treaty.

(4) Statutes, 4th Henry IV. c. 15. 5th Henry IV. c. 9, &c.

of Germany, and of the sea-port towns of Prussia and Livonia, subject to the grand master of the Teutonic order of knights, who then possessed these two last countries. Both parties made loud complaints, and gave in high estimates of the damages they pretended they had sustained; and it required long discussions to ascertain the justice of these estimates. At length it was agreed, A. D. 1409, that Henry should pay 15,955 gold nobles to the grand master, and 416 of the same to the consuls of the city of Hamburg, as the balance against his subjects (5). Among other claims, the German and Prussian merchants demanded damages for some hundreds of their countrymen, who had been thrown overboard and drowned by the English. To this claim Henry made answer—"That when we shall be advertised of the number, state, and condition of the said parties drowned, we will cause suffrages and prayers, and divers other wholesome remedies, profitable for the souls of the deceased, and acceptable to God and men, to be ordained and provided; upon condition, that, for the souls of our drowned countrymen, there be the like remedy provided by you (6)." These transactions exhibit a strange mixture of barbarity and superstition, which too much prevailed in the times we are now describing.

Companies
of foreign-
ers.

Though the dislike of the English to merchant-strangers continued through the whole of this period, and they were exposed to frequent insults, and subjected by law to various hardships; yet several companies of them were settled in London and other places, under the protection of royal charters. The German merchants of the steel-yard formed one of the most ancient, opulent, and powerful of these companies, being a branch of the great commercial confederacy of the Hanse towns in Germany and Prussia. This company had been highly favoured by Henry III. who by his charters conferred upon it various privileges and exemptions which were confirmed by his successors, both in the last and present period. These privileges are not distinctly known; but it plainly appears, that they were exempted from contributing to subsidies, tenths, and fifteenths, and were not subjected

(5) Rym. Fœd. tom. 8. p. 601, 602.

(6) Hakluyt, vol. 1. p. 177.

to the additional duties imposed, from time to time, on goods exported and imported; paying only the ancient customs agreed upon at the time of their establishment, which were very small (7). It is not to be wondered, therefore, that the English merchants were not very fond of a company of foreigners seated in the metropolis, and enjoying greater advantages in trade than themselves. This company had houses in other towns, particularly at Lynn and Boston, and preserved their privileges, with some interruptions, almost a century after the conclusion of this period (8). Companies of merchants of Venice, Genoa, Florence, Lucca, and Lombardy, were also settled in England, chiefly in London, protected by royal charters, and managed the trade of the states and cities to which they belonged (9). In a word, a great part of the foreign trade of England was still in the hands of these companies of merchant-strangers.

The merchants of the staple, as they were called, were formed into a corporation, or trading company, about the beginning of the preceding period. The constitution and design of that once rich and flourishing company hath been already described (10). It still subsisted, and though it had met with some discouragement, was not inconsiderable. This company paid no less for the customs of the staple commodities of wool, woollens, woollen cloth, leather, tin, and lead, it exported, A. D. 1458, than 68,000*l*: containing as much silver as 136,000*l*. of our money; which is a sufficient proof that its dealings were then extensive (11): They were strictly bound by their charter, and by law, to carry all the goods they exported to the staple at Calais; and to land them at any other port was made felony by act of parliament, A. D. 1439 (12). The corporation or company of the staple was originally composed of foreigners; but by degrees some English merchants were admitted into it, as being fittest for managing their affairs in England, to which branch of the business the English were confined.

Merchants
of the Sta-
ple.

(7) See Anderson's History of Commerce, vol. 1. p. 111. 114. 120. 129. 240. 279. 282.

(8) Id. *ibid.* vol. 1. p. 291. 418.

(9) Id. *ibid.* p. 231. 235. 236. 240. 243. 301.

(10) See vol. 4. book 4. ch. 6.

(11) Anderson, v. 1. p. 276.

(12) Statutes, 18th Hen. VI. c. 15.

Brother-
hood of St.
Thomas.

The most ancient company of English merchants, of which there is any trace in history, was established about the end of the thirteenth century, and was called—*The Brotherhood of St. Thomas Becket*—in honour of that celebrated English saint. The design of that company was to export the woollen cloth, which about that time began to be manufactured in considerable quantities in England; and as that manufacture increased, the trade of the brotherhood also increased. Henry IV. A. D. 1406, incorporated this society by a charter, regulating their government and their privileges. By this charter, any merchant of England or Ireland, who desired it, was to be admitted into the company, on paying a small fine. As this society was composed of the native subjects of the kings of England, it was favoured both by government and by the people, made gradual incroachments on the trade of the merchants of the staple, and at length ruined that company (13).

English fac-
tories a-
broad.

The English merchants, observing the advantages that foreigners derived from having partners and correspondents of their own countries settled in England, imitated their example, and established factories in several places on the continent. Henry IV. granted a charter, A. D. 1404, to the English merchants residing in Germany, Prussia, Sweden, Denmark, and Norway, empowering them to hold general assemblies, to make laws, to chuse governors, with authority to determine disputes among themselves, and with foreigners, and to preserve the privileges granted to them by the sovereigns of these countries (14). The same king granted a similar charter, A. D. 1406, to the English merchants in Holland, Zealand, Brabant, and Flanders (15). The first of these charters being too extensive, Henry granted a separate one, A. D. 1408, to the English settled in the dominions of the king of Denmark, who was also king of Sweden and Norway (16). These charters were confirmed by Henry VI. A. D. 1428 (17). The office and powers of these governors seem to have been nearly the same with those of our modern consuls; and towards the end of this

(13) Anderson, vol. i. p. 233. 260, See.

(14) Hakluyt, vol. i. p. 184. Rym Fœd. tom. 8. p. 360.

(15) Id. ibid. p. 464.

(16) Id. ibid. p. 511.

(17) Id. tom. 10. p. 400.

period, they were called by that name, and appointed by the king. Richard III. A. D. 1485, appointed Laurentio Strozzi, a merchant of Florence, to be consul, and president of all the English merchants at Pisa, and parts adjacent; "allowing him for his trouble the fourth part of one per cent. on all goods of Englishmen, either imported to, or exported thence (18)." In that commission Richard says, he had appointed that officer in imitation of other nations; which makes it probable, that it was the first commission of the kind granted by a king of England.

It would be tedious to enumerate all the commercial Treaties, treaties that were made by the kings of England, with almost all the princes and states of Europe, in this period. These treaties were very necessary, to restrain the piratical spirit that reigned in the mariners of all nations in those times: but they were very ill observed; and few seamen of any country could resist the temptation of seizing a weaker vessel, when she fell in their way, though belonging to a friendly power. This occasioned continual complaints of the breach of treaties, and the frequent renewal of these treaties. No fewer than four commercial treaties, for example, were concluded between England and the Hanse-towns, in the space of three years, from A. D. 1472 to 1474, and all to little purpose (19); and we have copies of eighteen such agreements between England and Flanders, in this period; which is a sufficient evidence that none of them was well observed (20). The intent of those treaties was, to prevent mutual depredations at sea, and to secure a friendly reception to the merchants of the contracting parties in each other's ports; and no doubt they contributed something to these purposes, though not so much as was intended.

The English, in this period, were fully convinced of the importance and necessity of being masters at sea, and particularly on their own coasts, and in the narrow seas between this island and the continent. This was most earnestly inculcated upon them, by a rhiming pamphlet, written about A. D. 1433. The now unknown author

(18) Rym. Fœd. tom. 12. p. 261.

(19) Id. tom. 9. p. 739. 780. 792.

(20) Id. tom. 8—12.

of that pamphlet asserted, in the strongest terms, that if the English kept the seas, especially the narrow seas, they would compel all the world to be at peace with them, and to court their friendship (21). The ancient duty of tonnage and poundage was granted to our kings by parliament, to enable them to guard the seas and protect the merchants (22). This duty (raised to 3s. on every ton of wine, and 5 per cent. on all other goods imported), together with the fourth part of the subsidy on wool and leather, was granted by Henry IV. A. D. 1406, with consent of parliament, to the merchants, to guard the seas; but payment was soon stopped, on complaints being made to the king that the seas were not properly guarded (23). Henry IV. maintained the dominion of the narrow seas with great spirit, and took ample revenge on the French, Flemings, and Britons, who had insulted the English coasts, and interrupted the English commerce, when the king was engaged against the earl of Northumberland and his confederates. William de Wilford, admiral of the narrow seas, sailed to the coast of Brittany, where he took forty of their ships, and burnt an equal number (24). The earl of Kent did still greater mischief on the coast of Flanders; and the famous Henry Pay, admiral of the Cinque-ports, took a whole fleet of French merchantmen, consisting of one hundred and twenty sail (25).

Victories at sea.

The heroic Henry V. was almost as victorious at sea as at land; and in his reign the fleets of England rode triumphant on the narrow seas. His brother John duke of Bedford obtained one naval victory, A. D. 1416, and the earl of Huntington another, A. D. 1417, over the united fleets of France and Genoa, taking or destroying almost all their ships; which effectually secured the dominion of the sea to the English for several years (26). Henry V. seems to have been the first king of England who had any ships that were his own property. At his first invasion of France, he had two large and beautiful

(11) See this very curious pamphlet in Hakluyt, vol. 1. p. 167—208.

(22) Statutes, 6th Rich. II. ch. 3.

(23) Rymer. Fœd. tom. 8. p. 437.

(24) Walsing. Ypodigana Neultrie, p. 561.

(25) Otterbourne, p. 253. Walsing. p. 376.

(26) Einham, cap. 30. 36.

ships, with purple sails, the one called the King's Chamber, the other his Hall. The author of the pamphlet above-mentioned saith of this prince,

—At Hampton he made the great dromons,
Which passed other great ships of all the commons;
The Trinity, the Grace de Dieu, the Holy Ghost,
And other moe, which now be lost (27).

In the long unhappy reign of Henry VI. especially **Henry VI.** after the death of his uncle the duke of Bedford, A. D. 1435, the affairs of the English declined with great rapidity, both by sea and land. The French, having expelled them from all their conquests on the continent, except Calais, insulted them on their own coasts, took, plundered, and burnt the town of Sandwich (28). But the great earl of Warwick, being appointed admiral, equipped several squadrons, with which he scoured the channel, took many valuable ships, and in some degree recovered the dominion of the sea (29).

Edward IV. paid great attention to mercantile and ma- **Edward IV.** ritime affairs, and on two occasions collected very great fleets: first, when he actually invaded France, A. D. 1475; and, secondly, when he prepared for another invasion of it, but was prevented by death. This prince had several ships that were his own property, with which he at some times protected the trade of his subjects, and at other times he employed them in trade as a merchant, which contributed not a little to his great wealth (30).

The reign of Richard III. was so short and turbulent, **Richard III.** that he had little opportunity of shewing his attention to the dominion of the sea. It is, however, certain, that if he had guarded the narrow seas with greater care, he might have prevented the landing of his rival the earl of Richmond, and preserved both his life and crown.

Though the English, in this period, were much en- **Circle of** gaged in war, and consequently could not carry on trade **trade en-** with the same ease and safety as in more peaceful times, **larged.** the circle of their commerce was not contracted, but ra-

(27) Prologue of English Policie, apud Hakluyt, vol. 1. p. 203.

(28) Fabian, p. 464.

(29) Stow, p. 404.

(30) Rym. Fœd. tom. 12. p. 139. Hist. Croyl. p. 559.

ther a little enlarged. The countries with which they had commercial intercourse in the fourteenth century, have been already enumerated; and there is the fullest evidence that their intercourse with all these countries still continued; and that English merchants now began to visit some seas and coasts which they had not formerly frequented (31). A company of London merchants, A. D. 1413, loaded several ships with wool and other merchandize, to the value of 24,000*l.* (a great sum in those times), for the western parts of Morocco, which was probably the first adventure of the English to those parts. The Genoese seized these ships as interlopers; and Henry IV. granted their owners letters of marque, to seize the ships and goods of the Genoese wherever they could find them (32). There was a great trade between Venice, Genoa, Florence, and other cities of Italy, and England, long before this time; but that trade seems to have been wholly carried on in foreign bottoms and by foreign merchants. This appears from the commercial treaties between the English government and these Italian states and cities, in which they stipulate for the safety and friendly reception of their ships and merchants in the ports of England, without any stipulation in favour of English ships or merchants in their ports; which could not have been neglected, if they had frequented those ports (33). The merchants of England, in the course of this period, attempted to obtain a share in this trade; but they met with great opposition in the execution of this design, not only from the Italians, but even from their own sovereigns, who favoured those foreigners, because they accommodated them with great loans of money, in their straits, and paid higher custom than their own subjects. It was not till the reign of Richard III. that the English merchants obtained any solid footing in Italy; as is evident from the preamble of that prince's commission to Laurentio Strozzi to be their consul at Pisa: "Whereas certain merchants and others from
" England intend to frequent foreign parts, and chiefly
" Italy, with their ships and merchandize, and we being

(31) See vol. 4. book 4. ch. 6.

(32) Rym. Fœd. tom. 8. p. 773.

(33) See Rym. Fœd. tom. 8. p.

“ willing to consult their peace and advantage as much
 “ as possible, and observing, from the practice of other
 “ nations, the necessity of their having a peculiar ma-
 “ gistrate among them for the determining of all dis-
 “ putes, &c (34).” Two English merchants, A. D.
 1481, encouraged by Edward IV. and by the Spanish
 duke of Medina Sidonia, prepared a fleet for a trading
 voyage to some of those countries on the coast of Africa,
 that had been lately discovered by the Portuguese, parti-
 cularly to Guinea. But that enterprise was prevented by
 the interposition of John II. king of Portugal, at the
 court of England (35). So slow was the progress of
 commerce at this time, in comparison of the rapid, asto-
 nishing advances it made in the next period.

A pretty full enumeration of the exports and imports ^{Exports and}
 of England hath been given in a former period, to which ^{imports.}
 very much cannot now be added (36). Several changes,
 however, had taken place in these particulars; and some
 additions had been made both to the exports and im-
 ports, a few of which may be mentioned. Slaves were
 no longer exported from England: but pilgrims were
 now become a considerable article of exportation; and
 several ships were every year loaded from different ports
 with cargoes of these deluded wanderers, who carried out
 with them much money for defraying the expences of
 their journey, and making presents to the saints they vi-
 sited: for all these saints, they were told, were much
 pleased with money. We meet with many licenses
 granted by our kings to masters of ships, permitting them
 to carry a certain number of pilgrims, from such a port
 to the shrine of such a saint named in the permit.
 Henry VI. for example, granted permits, A. D. 1434,
 for the exportation of 2433 pilgrims to the shrine of
 St. James of Compostella. Fortunately there was a still
 greater importation of pilgrims from the continent, to vi-
 sit the shrine of St. Thomas of Canterbury; which
 brought the balance of this traffic in favour of England.

As great improvements had been made in the woollen ^{Woollens;}
 manufactory, greater varieties, and much greater quan-

(34) Id. tom. 12. p. 261.

(35) Anderson, vol. 1. p. 296.

(36) See vol. 3.

tities of woollen cloths, were exported than in any former period. These formed one of the most valuable articles of exportation to every country with which England had any trade. But still the English were so far from working up all their wool, that great quantities of that precious commodity, so much valued in Italy and Flanders, were yet exported (37); and the subsidy on wool exported, was one of the most certain and valuable branches of the royal revenue.

Corn.

Corn seems now to have been a more important article of export than it had been in some former periods; and several laws were made for regulating its exportation and importation. A law was made, A. D. 1425, granting a general and permanent permission to export corn, except to enemies, without particular licences; but giving the king and council a discretionary power to restrain that liberty, when they thought it necessary for the good of the kingdom (38). The country gentlemen in the house of commons, A. D. 1463, complained, that the easterlings or merchants of the steel-yard, by importing too great quantities of corn, had reduced the price of that commodity so much, that the English farmers were in danger of being ruined. To prevent this, it was enacted, "That when the quarter of wheat did not exceed the price of 6s. 8d. rye 4s and barley 3s. no person should import any of these three kinds of grain, upon forfeiture thereof (39)."

Imports.

The curious pamphlet called the *Prologue of English Policy*, already quoted, gives a distinct account of the commodities imported into England by the merchants of different countries, or carried by them to the great emporium of Bruges in Flanders, and from thence imported by English merchants: and as it was written near the middle of this period, by one who was well acquainted with the subject, it is worthy of credit. According to that author, the commodities of Spain were figs, raisins, wine, oils, soap, dates, liquorice, wax, iron, wool,

(37) Rym. Fœd. tom. 9. p. 312. Anderson, vol. 1. p. 280.

(38) Statutes, 4th Hen. VI. c. 5.

(39) Statutes, 3d Edw. IV. c. 2.

wadmote, goatfell, redfell, saffron, and quicksilver (40).—Those of Portugal were nearly the same (41).—Those of Brittany were wine, salt, creft-cloth or linen, and canvas (42).—Those of Germany, Prussia, &c. or the merchants of the steel-yard, were, besides corn, iron, steel, copper, osmond, bow-staves, boards, wax, pitch, tar, flax, hemp, peltrey, thread, fustian, buckram, canvas, and wool-cards (43).—Those of Genoa were gold, cloth of gold, silk, cotton, oil, black pepper, rock-alum, and woad (44).—Those of Venice, Florence, and other Italian states, were all kinds of spices and grocery-wares, sweet-wines, sugar, drugs, with (as that author adds),

Apes, and japes, and marmosits tayed,
And nissis and triflis that little have avayed (45).

As several manufactures were introduced into England ^{Prohibited} in the course of this period, laws were made, towards ^{goods} the end of it, against importing any of the articles furnished by these manufactures. Upon a petition to the house of commons, A. D. 1483, from the manufacturers of London and other towns, representing the great damage they sustained by the importation of the articles which they manufactured, an act was made against the importation of “ girdles, harneys wrought for girdles, “ points, leather-laces, purses, pouches, pins, gloves, “ knives, hangers, taylors shears, sciffars, and irons, “ cup-boards, tongs, fire-forks, gridirons, stock-locks, “ keys, hinges, and garnets, spurs, painted glasses, “ painted-papers, painted forcers, painted images, “ painted cloths, beaten gold and beaten silver wrought “ in papers for painters, saddles, saddle-trees, horse- “ harneys, boots, bits, stirrups, buckler-chains, lat- “ ten-nails with iron shanks, turners, hanging-candle- “ sticks, holy-water stops, chaffing-dishes, hanging- “ leavers, curtain-rings, wool-cards, roan-cards, buckles “ for shoes, shears, broaches for spits, bells, hawks-

(40) Prologue of English Policy, c. 1.

(42) Id. c. 3.

(45) Id. c. 7.

(43) Id. c. 5.

(41) Id. c. 2.

(44) Id. c. 6.

“ bells,

“ bells, tin and leaden spoons, wire of latten and iron,
 “ iron-candlesticks, grates, and horns for lanthorns, or
 “ any other things made by the petitioners, on pain of
 “ forfeiture (46).”

Staple
towns.

Foreign trade was not carried on exactly in the same manner in those times as it is at present. Merchants did not ordinarily carry their goods to the ports where they were to be finally disposed of and used, but to certain emporia called staple-towns, where they met with customers from the countries where their goods were wanted, and with the commodities they wished to purchase for importation. This seems to have been owing to the imperfect state of navigation, which made long voyages tedious, and to the abounding of pirates, which made them dangerous. Merchants, therefore, of distant countries divided the fatigue and danger, and met each other half-way. This was attended with another advantage, that they were sure of finding a more complete assortment of goods for their purpose at those staple towns, than they could have found at any other place. Bruges in Flanders was the greatest emporium of Europe in this period, to which the merchants of the south and north conveyed their goods for sale; and so great was their resort to it from the Mediterranean and the Baltic, that 150 ships were seen, A. D. 1486, to arrive at its harbour of Sluyce in one day (47).

Fairs.

The great fairs in Brabant were also frequented by merchants in England, Spain, France, Italy, Germany, Scotland, and Ireland; and a great variety of goods were brought to them from all the neighbouring countries. But the English, it is said, bought and sold more at these fairs than all the other nations :

—Her marts ben febel, shame to say,
 But Englishmen thider drefs their way (48).

Fisheries.

Fishing, as a source of wealth and commerce, was not neglected by the English in this period; particularly

(46) Statutes, 2d Richard III. c. 12.

(47) Anderson, vol. i. p. 264. 284.

(48) Prologue of English Policy, apud Hakluyt, p. 197.

for cod and stock-fish on the coasts of Iceland, and for herrings on their own coasts. The merchants of Bristol and some other towns sent several vessels annually to Iceland (in opposition to the frequent complaints of the kings of Denmark, and prohibitions of their own sovereigns), to procure stock-fish, which were then much used in victualling ships for long voyages (49).

Of Iceland to write is little nede
 Save of stock-fish ; yet forsooth indeed,
 Out of Bristow and costes, many one
 Men have practised by needle and by stone,
 Thiderwardes within a little while (50).

The herring-fishery on the coast of Norfolk was an object of great importance in the fourteenth century, and rendered the towns on that coast rich and flourishing ; and the herring-fair at Yarmouth was of so much consequence, that it was regulated by several statutes (51). The consumpt of herrings still continuing to be immensely great in all the nations of Europe, the English herring-fishery was still carried on with vigour and success.

Some very wealthy merchants flourished in this period in Italy, France, and England. The family of Medici at Florence was the most opulent and illustrious mercantile family that ever existed in Europe. When Cosmo de Medici was only a private merchant and citizen of Florence, he expended four millions of gold florins in building churches and palaces in that city and its environs, and one million in charitable foundations for the support of the poor (52). Jaque le Cœur was the greatest merchant that ever France produced, and had alone more trade and more riches than all the other merchants of that kingdom ; and by his trade and riches contributed greatly to save his country. It was this extraordinary man who furnished Charles VII. with money to pay and support those armies with which he recovered his provinces

Rich merchants.

(49) Id. p. 210. Anderson, vol. 1. p. 271. 286. 296.

(50) Hakluyt, p. 201.

(51) Statutes, Edward III. an. 31. 35.

(52) Anderson, an. 1489.

from the English (53). John Norbury, John Hende, Richard Whittington, and several other merchants in London, appear to have been rich, from the great sums they occasionally lent their sovereign, and the great works they erected for the use and ornament of the city (54). But William Canning, who was five times mayor of Bristol, and a great benefactor to that city, seems to have been the greatest English merchant of this period. Edward IV. took from him at once (for some misdemeanor in trade) 2470 tons of shipping, amongst which there was one ship of 900 tons, one of 500, and one of 400, the rest being smaller (55). We are not informed what Mr. Canning's misdemeanor was; but it is most probable that there was nothing dishonourable in it, as the above anecdote is inscribed upon his tomb.

Trade pro-
stable.

From this brief account of the trade of England in this period, it plainly appears that it was not inconsiderable; and it is probable it was not unprofitable, but the contrary. We have no means, however, of discovering with certainty to which side the balance inclined, or the exact value of that balance; but we have reason to think, in general, that it was in favour of England, and that it was very valuable. It appears from an authentic record, that about the middle of the fourteenth century, the balance of trade in one year (1354) in favour of England, was no less than 295,184*l.* of the money of those times; and we know with certainty, that some articles of export, particularly the great article of woollen cloth, had very much increased in the present period (56). The incessant exhausting drain of money from England to the court of Rome still continued. Henry V. after squeezing every shilling he could from his subjects, anticipated his revenues, pawned his crown and jewels, and carried an immense mass of treasure out of England, in his attempts to conquer France. Henry VI. expended as much in losing as his father had done in gaining these foreign conquests; and I know of no

(53) *Id.* an. 1449. Ville and Villaret, tom. 15.

(54) *Rym Fœd.* t. 8. p. 488.

(55) *Andersen*, vol. 1. p. 271.

(56) See vol. 4. book 4. ch. 6.

other means by which these treasures could be replaced, but by the profits of manufactures and of commerce. In a word, it seems to be highly probable, that while the kings of England, in this period, were dissipating the riches of their dominions, by their defeats and victories, manufacturers and merchants were restoring them, by the silent operations of art and trade.

In the beginning of this period, during the captivity of James I. Scotland was in such an unsettled, distracted state, that its commerce could not flourish. There is, however, sufficient evidence, that, even in those unhappy times, it was not destitute of trade and shipping, of which it sustained a very great loss A. D. 1410. Sir Robert Umfreville, an English admiral, with a fleet of ten stout ships, sailed up the frith of Forth, as far as Blackness, where he took fourteen vessels, burnt several others, and amongst them a large one, called *the grand galliot of Scotland* (57). In this expedition, Sir Robert, it is said, brought home so great a quantity of corn, that the price of it was reduced in the markets of England, which procured him the name of *Robert Mend-Market* (58). John duke of Brabant granted, by his letters patent, various privileges, A. D. 1407, to the merchants of Scotland who came into his dominions on account of trade (59).

When king James I. returned from his long captivity into his native kingdom, A. D. 1424, he applied with great ardour to promote the prosperity of his subjects, and particularly their commerce, as is evident from his laws. He procured several acts of parliament for an uniformity of weights and measures, of all kinds, in all parts of the kingdom, with very particular directions for making and keeping of the standards, and fixing what goods were to be sold by weight, and what by measure; which (if they were executed) must have greatly facilitated both foreign and internal trade (60). This wise prince earnestly desired to restore the coin of Scotland to the same weight and fineness with that of England, and

(57) Hall, fol. 26. Stow, p. 338.

(58) Id. ibid.

(59) Maitland's Hist. Edinburgh, p. 324.

(60) Black Acts, James I. ch. 63, 64, 65. 79, 80.

obtained an act of parliament to that purpose (61). But he never was able to carry that act into execution ; though he endeavoured, by various methods, to procure bullion for that end. With this view, he prevailed upon the same parliament to grant him all the silver in all the mines in which a pound of lead yielded three halfpence of silver (62). By another law, all merchants were obliged to bring home a certain quantity of bullion, in proportion to the value of the goods they exported (63). A duty of 10 per cent. was laid, by several acts, on gold and silver coins exported ; and at last, in imitation of England, the exportation of these precious metals, coined or uncoined, was prohibited (64). I will not affirm, that these laws were or could be effectual ; but they plainly discover, that it was the intention of this prince to promote trade, and to make it lucrative to his kingdom, by increasing its stock of gold and silver. Several other laws of this excellent king, that were made with the same intention, might be mentioned ; such as, —those for ascertaining the rate of customs on all exports and imports, —for securing the effects of traders who died abroad, —for permitting his merchants to freight foreign ships, when they could not procure any of their own country, —for regulating fairs and markets, and delivering those who frequented them from various vexations, &c. &c. (65).

James II. James II. was not wholly inattentive to trade. He renewed the laws that had been made by his father, for the uniformity of weights and measures, and for regulating fairs and markets (66). But as most of the mercantile regulations of this prince relate to the coin, they will be considered in another place.

James III. Many commercial laws were made in the reign of James III. but some of them discover no great wisdom, or knowledge of the subject, in the law-makers. They renewed all the former acts for the importation of bullion, and against the exportation of coin, again and again,

(61) *Id.* ch. 25.(62) *Id.* ch. 14.(63) *Id.* ch. 160.

(64) Black Acts, James I. ch. 55. 166.

(65) See Black Acts of James I. *passim*.

(66) Acts James II. ch. 66. 82.

with severer and severer penalties, and were much surprized to find that money was still scarce. This they imputed to the negligence of the officers who were appointed to put those acts in execution; never reflecting, that if the value of the goods exported was less than of the goods imported, ten thousand laws, and the greatest vigilance in their execution, could not prevent the exportation of money to pay the balance (67). It is difficult to discover with what view several laws were made for restraining craftsmen, or such as were not burghesses, or had not a certain quantity of goods, from engaging in foreign trade; but these restraints were certainly imprudent, and were probably procured by the influence of the richer merchants (68). An embargo was laid by law on all the shipping of Scotland, from St. Simon and St. Jude's day (October 28) to Candlemas, as failing was thought to be peculiarly dangerous at that season (69). The staple for the merchants of Scotland was removed, by an act of parliament, A. D. 1465, from Bruges in Flanders, first to Middlebourg, and soon after to Campvere in Zealand, where it still remains (70). It appears, from another act of the same parliament, that it was not uncommon for the prelates, lords, and barons of Scotland, to export the produce of their own lands, and import such goods as they thought proper for the use of their families (71).

It would be difficult, and is unnecessary, to give a complete enumeration of all the exports and imports of Scotland in this period, as they were both very numerous, but many of them not very valuable. The chief articles exported were, wool, wool-fells, woollen cloth, leather, salted hides, skins of metricks, harts, hinds, does, roes, todos, fowmarts, cunnies, and otters, barrelled and red herrings, salmon, black cattle, horses, and sheep. That all these articles were exported, we have the evidence of acts of parliament ascertaining the customs to be paid on their exportation (72). Tallow was also exported, except at particular times, when its

(67) Acts James III. ch. 10. 11. 27. 63. 80.

(68) Id. ch. 15, 16.

(70) Id. ch. 19, 20.

(72) Black Acts, James I. ch. 23, 24. 44. 86, &c.

(69) Id. ch. 18.

(71) Acts James III. ch. 14.

exportation was prohibited (73). The articles imported were still more numerous, and consisted of silks and fine cloths; but these in no great quantities, as the use of them was confined by law to a few persons of high rank; wines; groceries; hard-ware; armour, and arms; furniture, and implements of husbandry (74). But so low was the state of agriculture, as well as of the other arts, in Scotland, in those unhappy times, that corn was one of the greatest articles of importation. This appears from several acts of parliament, and particularly from the following preamble to one, A. D. 1477.—“Be-
“ cause victuals (corns) ar rycht schant within the coun-
“ trie, the suppartation that this realme hes, is be
“ frangers of divers uther nations that brings vic-
“ tual (75).”

Fisheries.

The Scots, in this period, seem to have been sensible of the importance of the fisheries on their coasts and in their rivers, and desirous of availing themselves of that advantage, both for home-consumpt and for exportation. By an act of parliament, A. D. 1471, it is statute and ordained, “That the lords spiritual and temporal, and
“ burrowes, gar mak greit schippis, busches, and uther
“ greit pinkboiltis, with nettis and abelzements for
“ fisching, for the commun gude of the realme, and
“ the great entres of ryches, to be brought within the
“ realme, of uther countries (76).” They discovered their anxiety for preserving the fry of red fish, and for preventing the killing of salmon at improper seasons, by many laws; and the value they set on that fish, by ordaining, that none of them should be sold to Englishmen, but for immediate payment in gold or silver; or to Frenchmen, but for gold, silver, or claret wine (77).

Balance of trade.

It is impossible to discover whether the balance of trade was in favour of Scotland or not, in this period. It is probable the balance on either side was not very great, as that country doth not appear to have been either remarkably enriched or impoverished. But even

(73) Id. ch. 35.

(74) Id. ch. 52. Prologue of English Policy, ch. 4.

(75) Acts James III. c. 81.

(76) Id. ch. 60.

(77) Acts James I. ch. 12. 145. 163. James II. ch. 2. 86. James III. ch. 45. 82.

such a commerce is not unprofitable, as it procures many accommodations, conveniencies, and comforts, which could not otherwise be obtained.

As money or coins have long been the great medium ^{Money.} of commerce, and the common measure of the value of all other commodities; and as the acquisition of them hath been the great object of particular merchants, and of trading nations, they are well intitled to a place in the commercial history of every period. Without a competent knowledge of coins in every age, of their weight and fineness, and of their comparative value with respect to other commodities, and to the coins of our own times, we can form no just conceptions of the price of labour, the rate of living, the prosperity and wealth of nations, and many other important facts in history. We are apt, for example, to be surpris'd to hear, that the wages of common labourers, in the fifteenth century, were only three halfpence a day, and to imagine that these poor labourers must have lived in a very wretched manner; but when we are told, that those three halfpence contained as much silver as three pence, and would purchase as many of the necessaries of life as fifteen pence of our money will do at present, our surpris'e and pity are at an end.

It hath been already observed, that anciently the Eng- ^{Weight of}lish nominal pound in coin contained a real Tower ^{coins.} pound of silver, weighing 5400 grains Troy; that of this pound of silver were coined 240 pennies (the largest coins then in use), weighing each $22\frac{1}{2}$ Troy grains; and that the money of England continued on the same footing from the Conquest till near the middle of the fourteenth century, when Edward III. made an alteration (78). That prince, A. D. 1346, coined 270 pennies, weighing each only 20 Troy grains, instead of $22\frac{1}{2}$, out of a Tower pound of silver; by which the value of the nominal pound was reduced from 60 of our shillings to 51s. 8d. That same prince made another change in his money, A. D. 1351, by coining groats, that weighed only 72 grains, instead of 90 (the original weight of four pennies), by which the nominal pound was brought down to 46s. 6d. of our present

(78) See vol. 3.

money; at which it continued till after the beginning of the period we are now delineating (79).

Continued. By an act of parliament, 13th Henry IV. A. D. 1412, it was directed, "That by reason of the great scarcity of money in the realm of England, the pound Tower should, from the feast of Easter following, be coined into thirty shillings by tale (80)." A strange imagination, that diminishing the value of the nominal pound would make money more plentiful! and yet it was on this groundless fancy that all the above and subsequent changes were made. By this last regulation, the value or quantity of silver in the nominal pound was reduced to 38s. 9d. of our money; and on that footing the coin of England continued more than half a century, during the reigns of Henry V. and Henry VI (81).

Edward IV. Edward IV. A. D. 1464, by coining 37s. 6d. by tale out of the Tower pound of silver, brought down his groats (the largest coin then in use) to 48 Troy grains, and the intrinsic value of the nominal pound to 31s. of our money; and thus it remained till long after the conclusion of the present period.

Inconvenience. These successive changes in the value or quantity of silver in the nominal pound of coin, which could add nothing to the real riches of the kingdom, were productive of many inconveniencies. Every change deceived the people for some time, to their loss; and occasioned great confusion in the payment of debts, rents, annuities, and in all mercantile and money transactions.

Gold coins. The only gold coins that were struck in England, in the greatest part of this period, in the reigns of Henry IV. Henry V. and Henry VI. were nobles, with their halves and quarters. The first nobles of Henry IV. weighed 120 grains, and their value was 21s. 1½d. the same weight and value with those of his predecessor Richard II. But in the last year of his reign, the noble was reduced to 108 grains, value 19s.; and on that footing it continued during the two succeeding reigns (82). The gold noble was of 23 carats 3½ grains

(79) See vol. 4. ch. 6.

(80) Statutes, 13th Hen. IV.

(81) Martin Folkes on the silver Coins of England, p. 13, 14.

(82) Id. on gold Coins, p. 4.

fine, and $\frac{1}{2}$ grain in alloy, and was much admired, both at home and abroad, for its purity and beauty.

Edward IV. A. D. 1466, struck gold coins, called *angels*, from the figure of an angel on the reverse; and their halves, called *angelets*. The angel weighed 80 grains, passed for 6s. 8d. of the silver-money of those times, and was worth 14s. 1d. of our present money (83). Continued.

In the preceding period, it hath been observed, that the coins of Scotland were originally the same with those of England, and so continued till about the middle of the fourteenth century, when they fell a little below the English coins, both in weight and purity (84). This difference between the coins of the two British kingdoms gradually increased; and at the beginning of our present period, those of Scotland were only about half the value of those of England of the same denomination. But this difference was then only in weight, because the Scottish coins had been restored to their former fineness (85). Coins of Scotland.

James I. on his return to Scotland, A. D. 1424, being convinced that this difference between the coins of the two kingdoms was a great interruption to trade, procured an act of parliament, empowering him "to mend his money, and gar sryke it in like wicht and fynes to the money of England (86)." But the disorders and distresses of his kingdom prevented the execution of that wise law; and the coins of Scotland gradually sunk more and more below the value of those of England of the same denomination. Materials are not wanting to trace the gradual decrease of the Scottish coins, step by step; but such a minute detail would be tedious and uninteresting. It will be sufficient to remark, that at the end of this period, they were little more than one fourth of the weight and value of the coins that were called by the same names in England (87).

Though our kings and great barons were the chief promoters of the diminution of the weight and value of Inconvenience.

(83) Folkes on gold Coins.

(84) See vol. 4. ch. 6.

(85) Ruddimanni Præfat. ad Anderfoni Diplom. Scot.

(86) Black Acts, James I. act 25.

(87) Id. James II. act 72. James III. act 22. 26. 58. 63. 83. 89. 109. 114.

the coin, they were by far the greatest sufferers by that imprudent measure. For by that means all the fixed annual payments that were due to them from their subjects and vassals, were much diminished in their real value, though they continued the same in name. They received the same number of pounds that had been originally stipulated; but these pounds did not contain the same quantity of silver, and would not purchase the same quantity of goods with those in the original stipulation. The king and nobility discovered the error they had committed and the loss they had sustained, and endeavoured to apply a remedy; but it was not the natural and only effectual one, of restoring the coin to its original weight and purity. An act of parliament was made, A. D. 1467, to the following purpose: "Because
 " our soverane lord, and his thre estatys, considderis and
 " understandis, that his hienes, and the hail realme in
 " ilk estate, is greitly hurt and skaithet in the changeing
 " and heying the course of the money, baith in debts
 " paying, and contracts, bygane annuallis, wedsettis,
 " and lands set for lang termis, customis, and procu-
 " rafeis of prelatis, and all other dettes; it is provydit,
 " by our soverane lord, and his thre estatys in this pre-
 " sent parliament, That baith the creditour and the
 " dettour, the byar and the fellar, the borrower and
 " the lennar, the lord and the tennant, spiritual and
 " temporall, be observit to the desyre and the intentis
 " of thame that war in the time of making the con-
 " tractis, and payment to be maid in the samen sub-
 " stance that was intendit at the tyme of the making
 " of the contractis (88)." This law was certainly very equitable; but it is obvious, that the execution of it would be attended with many difficulties, and productive of many disputes; and that it would be no easy matter to persuade vassals, tenants, and debtors of all kinds, to pay a greater number of pounds, shillings, and pence, than they were bound to pay by their original obligations. There is sufficient evidence still remaining, that though several laws were made of the same ten-

(88) Black Acts, James III. 3d. 23.

nor with that above, none of them could be executed; and that the several feudal payments due by the vassals of the king and barons, by the successive changes of the coin, and of the value of money, dwindled down to less than the hundredth part of what was originally intended, and in many cases to a mere trifle. The relief, for example, paid to the crown by the ancient barons of Panmore, was originally 122*l.* containing as much silver as 366*l.* of our present English money; and as 4392*l.* of our present Scotch money, equivalent in efficacy, to 1830*l.* English, and to 21,960*l.* Scotch. This was a valuable payment, and was probably one year's rent of the estate. Edward I. when he was in possession of Scotland, remitted to William de Maul, baron of Panmore, 82*l.* of his own relief, and of his heirs, to gain him to his interest. From thence the relief paid by the heirs of that noble family was 40*l.* containing originally as much silver as 120*l.* English, and as 1440*l.* Scotch, equivalent in value to 600*l.* English, and to 7200*l.* Scotch money. But by many successive diminutions of the nominal money-pound in Scotland, that payment, originally so considerable, was reduced to the trifling sum of 3*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* of our present English money (89).

Gold was coined in Scotland by Robert II. soon after it began to be coined in England by Edward III.; and the gold coins of both kingdoms were the same in weight and fineness to the end of this period (90). But the reader will form a more distinct idea of the gold coin of those times, and of the comparative value of gold and silver, by inspecting the following table, than can be given him in many words.

(89) See Ruddiman's Pref. to Anderson's *Diplom. Scot.* sect. 6*r.*

(90) Black Acts, James III. 2d 103. A. D. 1483.

A. D.	A. Regni.	Fineness.			Alloy.	Value of coins out of a pound of gold.			Weight of silver for a pound of gold.					
		oz.	pw.	gr.	pw. gr.	L.	s.	d.	lib.	oz.	pw.	gr.		
1371, &c.	Robert II.	11	18	18	1	6	17	12	0	11	1	17	22	
1390, &c.	Robert III.	11	18	18	1	6	19	4	0	11	1	17	22	
1424.	James I.	19	11	18	18	1	6	22	10	0	11	1	17	22
1451.	James II.	15	11	18	18	1	6	33	6	8	9	8	4	14
1456.	-----	20	11	18	18	1	6	50	0	0	9	8	4	14
1475.	James III.	16	11	18	18	1	6	78	15	0	10	2	0	20
1484.	-----	24	11	18	18	1	6	78	15	0	10	5	7	9

From the above table, constructed from authentic monuments, the following facts appear—That the gold coined in Scotland was of sufficient fineness—that the nominal money-pound contained above four times more silver, A. D. 1390, than it did in A. D. 1475: a prodigious change in so short a time!—and that the value of gold compared to silver was about one-third less than it is at present: and so it continued, till after the discovery of the silver mines in South America; from which immense quantities of that metal have been imported into Europe.

Copper money.

In the first parliament of James III. A. D. 1466, an act was made for coining copper-money, “for the use “and sustentation of the king’s liegis, and for almous “deid to be done to pure folk.” An exact description is given in the act, of the form of these copper coins, of which four were to pass for one penny. By the same act, a coinage, of three hundred pound weight, of a different kind of copper-money, with a mixture of silver in it, was appointed. This was called *lack money*, from its colour, as the mixture of silver in it was very small, probably not greater than the mixture of copper in the white money, hardly one ounce in the pound (91). King James was afterwards cruelly calumniated for coining this black

(91) Black Acts, James III. act 12.

money, and the minds of the common people inflamed against him on that account, by the earl of Angus and his party, though they perfectly well knew, that it had been coined in consequence of an act of parliament, when the king was in his childhood, and had no concern in the matter. So little regard hath faction to truth, and so easily are the minds of the people misled!

It would require a long and very tedious induction of ^{Rate of} particulars, to ascertain the exact difference between the ^{living.} rate of living at present and in the period we are now examining. I have investigated this matter with all the attention of which I am capable; and I am persuaded, that, to the lower and middle ranks of the people, living was, in that period, nominally ten times, and really five times cheaper than it is at present, to persons of the same rank. To understand the distinction between the nominal and real difference in the rate of living, we have only to reflect, 1st, That one nominal money-pound, in the fifteenth century, contained as much silver as two nominal pounds contain at present; and therefore a person who had then an income of 10*l.* a-year, had as much silver to expend as one who hath now an income of 20*l.* a-year; and, 2dly, That the same quantity of silver, suppose a pound weight, would then have purchased as many of the necessaries of life as five times that quantity, or five pound weight of silver, will purchase at present: for these two reasons, one who had a free annual income of ten nominal money-pounds in the fifteenth century, was as rich, and could live as well, as one who hath an income of ten times as many money-pounds, or of 100*l.* at present; though, in reality, any given weight of coins had then only five times the value and efficacy that the same weight of coins, of equal purity, have in our times.

That the above account of the nominal difference in ^{Proofs.} the rate of living, and the real difference in the value of money, is not far from the truth, many proofs might be produced; of which, to avoid prolixity, I shall mention only two or three. As grain of different kinds, and animal food, are the chief means of supporting human life, their prices claim particular attention in forming a judgment of the expence of living. The average price of a quarter of wheat, in that part of the fifteenth century, which

which is the subject of this book (except in a few years of famine), appears to have been about 5s. which, multiplied by ten, produces 50s. which is not esteemed a very high price at present. When wheat was 6s. 8d. per quarter, a famine was dreaded, and the ports were opened for importation. All other kinds of grain were cheaper in proportion to wheat than they are at present (92). Animal food of all kinds was still cheaper than grain. The price of an ordinary, probably a small cow, was 7s. equivalent to 3l. 10s. 0d.—of a calf, 1s. 8d. equivalent to 16s. 8d.—of an ox, 13s. 4d. equivalent to 6l. 13s. 4d.—of a sheep, 2s. 5d. equivalent to 1l. 4s. 2d.—of a hog, 2s. equivalent to 1l.—of a goose, 3d. equivalent to 2s. 6d. &c (93). Liquors were fully as cheap as either bread-corn or butcher meat, or rather cheaper. Claret cost only 1s. a gallon, equivalent to 10s. and ale only 1½d. equivalent to 1s. 3d. (94). It was established by law, 2d Henry V. A. D. 1414, “That no yearly chaplain within the realm shall take, from henceforth, more for his whole wages by the year (that is to say, for his board; apparel, and other necessaries), but seven marks, or 4l. 13s. 4d. equivalent to 46l. 13s. 4d. (95)” a sum which is barely sufficient (if it is sufficient) to support a single clergyman in board, lodgings, apparel, and every thing else, in a manner suitable to his character. By the same statute it is ordained, “That parish-priests which be, or shall be retained to serve cures, shall take, from henceforth, for their whole wages by the year, but 8 marks, or 5l. 6s. 8d. (96);” which, being multiplied by ten, yields 53l. 6s. 8d.; a sum certainly not too great for the decent support of a parish-priest at present: and we cannot suppose that the parliament of England would have fixed the highest stipend to be given to a curate at 8 marks, if that sum had not been then sufficient for his decent support. Sir John Fortescue, chief justice of the king’s bench, and afterwards chancellor to Henry VI. wrote his book on the Difference be-

(92) See *Chronicon Preciosum*, p. 98—112.

(93) *Id. ibid.*

(94) *Id. ibid.*

(95) *Statutes*, 2d Henry V. stat. 2. c. 2.

(96) *Id. ibid.*

tween an absolute and limited Monarchy, towards the end of this period; and in that work he says, in plain terms, "that five pounds a year was a fair living for a yeoman;" which, I believe, can hardly be said of fifty pounds a-year in our times (97). In a word, it seems to be abundantly evident, that inferior clergymen, yeomen, respectable tradesmen, and others in the middle ranks of life, could have lived as plentifully, in the fifteenth century, on an income of 5*l.* a-year, of the money of that age, as those of the same rank can live on ten times that nominal, or five times that real income, that is, on 50*l.* a year at present (98). The precious metals of gold and silver have indeed greatly increased in Britain since those times; but we must not therefore imagine, that we are so much richer than our ancestors; because, as these metals increased in quantity, they decreased in value and efficacy.

The state of shipping in Britain seems to have been Shipping. nearly the same in this, that it had been in the former period. Commerce was not much extended, and a great part of it was still carried on by foreign merchants in foreign bottoms; which retarded the increase both of ships and sailors. Some attempts were made to build ships of greater burden than had been formerly in use, in imitation of the carracks of Venice and Genoa, which were often seen in British harbours. But these attempts were probably very few, as they are mentioned by our historians with expressions of admiration, and those who made them obtained both honours and immunities. James Kennedy, the patriotic bishop of St. Andrew's, is as much celebrated for building a ship of uncommon magnitude, called the *Bishop's Berge*, as for building and endowing a college (99). John Taverner of Hull obtained various privileges and immunities from Henry VI. A. D.

(97) Fortescue on the difference between an absolute and limited Monarchy, p. 133.

(98) I confess bishop Fleetwood, in his *Chronicon Preciosum*, makes the difference in the rate of living only as six to one. But that learned and good prelate, writing on a case of conscience, intentionally kept within bounds. He wrote also in the beginning of this century, when living was cheaper than it is at present.

(99) Pittscottie. Hawthornden.

1449, "because he had built a ship as large as a great carrack (100):" a sufficient proof that few such ships were then built in England.

In the subsequent periods of this work, the increase of the commerce of Great Britain, particularly of England, will be more conspicuous, and merit a more extended delineation.

(100) Rym. Fœd. tom. 11. p. 258.

T H E

T H E
H I S T O R Y
O F
G R E A T B R I T A I N.

B O O K V.

C H A P. VII.

History of the Manners, Virtues, Vices, remarkable Customs, Language, Dress, Diet, and Diversions, of the People of Great Britain, from the Accession of Henry IV. A. D. 1399, to the Accession of Henry VII. A. D. 1485.

WHEN a country is conquered by a foreign power, and receives new masters, and an inundation of new inhabitants from a distant region, a great and sudden change of manners, &c. is commonly produced, by the introduction of those of the conquerors, in the place of those of the ancient inhabitants, or by an intermixture of both. Such were the great and striking revolutions in the manners, customs, and circumstances of the people of Britain, introduced by the successive conquests and settlements of the Romans, Saxons, Danes, and Normans, in this island, which have been already delineated in their proper places. But when a country continues to

Slow
change of
manners.

be inhabited by the same people, living under the same government, professing the same religion, and speaking the same language, as the people of Britain did in this period, the changes in their manners, customs, virtues, vices, language, dress, diet, and diversions, are slow, and almost imperceptible. These changes, however, like the motion of the shadow on the sun-dial, are real, and in process of time become conspicuous. If the heroic Henry V. were now to arise from the dead, and appear in the streets of London, mounted on his war-horse, and clothed in complete armour, what astonishment would he excite in the admiring multitude! How much would he be surprised at every object around him! If he were conducted to St. Paul's, he would neither know the church nor understand the service. In a word, he would believe himself to be in a city, and among a people, he had never seen. It cannot therefore be improper to trace, in every period, those gradual, and almost insensible changes, in our manners, language, and dress, &c. which have at length transformed us into a people so totally different from our ancestors; and to point out the causes of these changes, and the degrees of happiness or distress which they produced.

Alterations
in rank.

No very material alteration in the ranks and orders of men in society took place in this period; but there seems to have been a considerable change in the comparative importance and influence of the people in these several ranks. The distinction between the nobility and gentry of England was now fully established, in consequence of the division of the parliament into two houses; and the former enjoyed several privileges to which the latter had no claim. The parliament of Scotland still continued to meet in one house; and the nobility hardly enjoyed any peculiar advantages, except their titles and mere precedence, besides those they derived from the greatness of their fortunes and number of their followers (1). The citizens and burghesses in both kingdoms were more re-

(1) In the original records of parliament, the ecclesiastical peers are always placed first, the dukes and earls next, but the names of lords and gentlemen are intermixed; and several gentlemen, who were not lords of parliament, have *dominus* prefixed to their names. In a word, the distinction between lords and lairds in those times was very inconsiderable. The wives of lairds were constantly called ladies.

spected, or rather not so much despised, as they had been formerly; and even the common people were treated with greater lenity, as their haughty lords often stood in need of their assistance in the field of battle.

The most remarkable change in all ranks of men in this period, was a great diminution of the numbers of the people in every rank (except that of beggars), by the devastation and depopulation of the country. This depopulation was occasioned by the three greatest scourges to which mankind are exposed, famine, pestilence, and war, but chiefly by the last. Famine was most fatal to those in the lower walks of life; war was most destructive to those of higher rank, in proportion to their numbers; the pestilence made no distinction.

To say nothing of the great numbers of brave men who fell in the foreign and civil wars in the reign of Henry IV. what prodigious multitudes perished in the French wars, in the reigns of Henry V. and Henry VI. which continued about thirty years, and were uncommonly destructive! The English nobility and gentry engaged in those wars with the greatest ardour, in hopes of obtaining splendid settlements on the continent. But instead of gaining fortunes, so many of them lost their lives, that in the last year of the victorious Henry V. there was not a sufficient number of gentlemen left in England to carry on the business of civil government. This is evident from the following statute, made in that year: "Whereas, by
 " an act made in the 14th of Edward III. it was statute
 " and ordained, That no sheriff or escheator should remain above one year in his office; because there was
 " then a sufficient number of gentlemen in every county
 " of England, well qualified to fill these offices to the
 " satisfaction both of the king and his subjects: And
 " whereas, by diverse pestilences within the kingdom,
 " and by foreign wars, there is not a sufficiency at present of proper persons to fill these offices: It is therefore enacted by this parliament, That the king may
 " appoint sheriffs and escheators to continue more than
 " one year in their respective offices, for four years,
 " commencing at the next election of these officers (2)."

(2) Statutes, 9th Hen. 5. ch. 5.

This act appears to have been made with much reluctance, and from mere necessity.

Under

Henry VI.

But if the victories of Henry V. were so fatal to the population of his country, the defeats and disasters of the succeeding reign were still more destructive. In the twenty-fifth year of this war, the instructions given to the cardinal of Winchester, and other plenipotentiaries appointed to treat about a peace, authorise them to represent to those of France, "That there haan been moo
" men slayne in these wars for the title and claime of the
" coroune of France, of oon nacion and other, than ben
" at this daye in both landys, and so much Christiene
" blode shede, that it is to grete a sorow and an orroure
" to thinke or here it (3)." But these and many other representations were in vain. The war continued several years longer; and before it ended, the two powerful kingdoms of France and England were so much exhausted, that, in some campaigns, they could hardly bring 10,000 men into the field on either side.

Edward IV.

England was still further depopulated by the bloody contest between the houses of Lancaster and York, which succeeded the French wars. This contest was peculiarly fatal to persons of rank and power, and seemed to threaten that order of men with extirpation. If we may believe Philip de Comines, one of the most credible historians of those times, no fewer than sixty or eighty princes and nobles of the blood-royal of England lost their lives in this quarrel, either in battle or on the scaffold (4). The same writer informs us, that Edward IV. told him one day in conversation, that in all the nine pitched battles he had gained, he had fought on foot; and that as soon as the enemy began to fly, he mounted his horse, and cried to his men to spare the common people, and to kill their leaders (5). At the battle of Towton, one of these nine, three earls and ten lords of the Lancastrian party, besides a prodigious number of knights and gentlemen, were found dead on the field. At the first parliament of Edward IV. long before the conclusion of that fatal contest, the nobility of England consisted only of one duke,

(3) Rym. Fœd. tom. 10. p. 724.

(4) Philip de Comines, vol. 1. p. 52. 196.

(5) Id. ibid.

four earls, one viscount, and twenty-nine barons; all the nobles of the Lancastrian party having been either killed in battles or on scaffolds, or had fled into foreign countries to save their lives (6).

The same causes of depopulation produced the same ^{Scotland.} effects in Scotland; and this depopulation was but too visible in both countries, by ruined villages, uncultivated fields, and decaying towns and cities (7). Upon the whole, we have good reason to believe, that there were not 3,000,000, probably not above 2,500,000 people of all ages in Britain, at the end of this period. It is no objection to this, that we hear of numerous armies transported to the continent, and appearing in the field in Britain; because all men from sixteen to fifty, the clergy not excepted, were every moment liable to be called into the field, and few dared to disobey the call.

The circumstances of the people of Britain, in this ^{Distresses.} period, were far from being comfortable. The crown tottered on the heads of her princes, who were sometimes on a throne, sometimes in a prison, or in exile. Of the three kings who reigned in Scotland, one, after spending the best years of his life in captivity, perished by a violent death; the other two fell in war; and they were all cut off in the prime of their age. Many of the rich and great experienced the most deplorable reverses of fortune, and sunk into indigence and obscurity; and some of the most ancient and noble families, in both kingdoms, were ruined, and almost extirpated. The common people enjoyed few of the comforts, and sometimes wanted the necessaries, of life; and neither their persons nor properties were secure. It was indeed impossible that a people so much employed in destroying the inhabitants of other countries, or in tearing one another to pieces, could be happy. But all the distresses in which the people of Britain were then involved, did not diminish their vices nor increase their virtues. Their manners in these respects seem to have been nearly the same in this as in the preceding period, and have been already described. It will be sufficient therefore in this place, to mention a few particulars, which were either peculiar to the times

(6) Parliament. Hist. vol. 2. p. 312.

(7) J. Rossi Hist. Angl. *passim*.

we are now considering, or became more or less conspicuous.

Chivalry.

Chivalry, one of the most remarkable peculiarities in the manners of the middle ages, flourished greatly in England in the fourteenth, but declined in the fifteenth century. Our kings and nobles were then so much engaged in real combats, that they could not pay equal attention to the representations of them in tilts and tournaments. The decline of chivalry is thus feelingly lamented by that simple person (as he often calls himself) Mr. William Caxton: "O ye knyghtes of Englonde! where is the
 " custome and usage of noble chyvalry that was used in
 " tho days? What do ye now but go to the baynes, and
 " play at dyse? And some not well advysed, use not honest and good rule, again all ordre of knyghthode.
 " Leve this, leve it, and rede the noble volumes of St. Graal, of Lancelot, of Galaad, of Trystram, of Perse Forest, of Percyval, of Gawayn, and many mo; ther
 " shall ye see manhode, curtosye, and gentylness.—I
 " would demaunde a question, yf I should not displease:
 " How many knyghtes ben ther now in England, that
 " have thuse and thexerceise of a knyghte? that is to
 " wite, that he knoweth his horse, and his horse him.—
 " I suppose, and a due ferche sholde be made, there
 " sholde be many founden that lacke; the more pyte is.
 " I wold it pleasyd our soverayne lord, that twyse or
 " thryse a yere, or at the lest ones, he would do cry
 " justis of pies, to thende, that every knyght shold
 " have hors and harneys, and also the use and craft of a
 " knyghte, and also to tornoye one agaynste one, or two
 " agaynste two, and the best to have a prys, a diamond,
 " or jewel, such as shold please the prynce (8)."

Still existed.

But though chivalry was now declining, it was far from being extinct. Henry V. of England, and James I. of Scotland, are highly extolled for their dexterity in tilting; and Richard Beauchamp, earl of Warwick, was famous for the victories he obtained in those knightly encounters, both at home and abroad (9). Many of the first productions of the press were books of chivalry, and adventures of knights-errant (10). We meet with a

(8) Ames's *Typographical Antiquities*, p. 41.

(9) *Strut*, vol. 2. *Scoticron*, lib. 16. c. 28.

(10) Ames's *Typographical Antiquities*, p. 41.

great number of royal protections granted by our kings to foreign princes, nobles, and knights, to come into England to perform feats of arms; and licences to their own subjects, to go into foreign countries for the same purpose (11). All coronations and royal marriages were attended with splendid tilts and tournaments, in which the young nobles, knights, and gentlemen displayed their courage, strength, and dexterity in horsemanship, and the use of arms, in the presence and for the honour of their ladies.

The most magnificent of these tournaments was that performed by the bastard of Burgundy and Anthony lord Scales, brother to the queen of England, in Smithfield, A. D. 1467. The king and queen of England spared no expence to do honour to so near a relation; and Philip duke of Burgundy, the most magnificent prince of that age, was no less profuse in equipping his favourite son. Several months were spent in adjusting the preliminaries of this famous combat, and in performing all the pompous ceremonies prescribed by the laws of chivalry. Edward IV. granted a safe conduct, October 29, A. D. 1466, to the bastard of Burgundy, earl of La Roche, with a thousand persons in his company, to come into England, to perform certain feats of arms with his dearly-beloved brother Anthony Widivile, lord Scales and Nuelles (12). But so many punctilios were to be settled by the intervention of heralds, that the tournament did not take place till June 11, A. D. 1467. Strong lists having been erected in Smithfield, 120 yards and 10 feet long, 80 yards and 10 feet broad, with fair and costly galleries all around, for the accommodation of the king and queen, attended by the lords and ladies of the court, and a prodigious number of lords, knights, and ladies of England, France, Scotland, and other countries, in their richest dresses; the two champions entered the lists, and were conducted to their pavilions. There they underwent the usual searches, and answered the usual questions, and then advanced into the middle of the lists. “ They ranne together with sharp spears, and departed with equal honour. The next day they turneyed on horseback. The lord Scales

(11) Vide Rym. Fœd.

(12) Rym. Fœd. tom. 11. p. 673.

" horse had on his chaffron a long sharp pike of steel ;
 " and as the two champions coaped together, the same
 " horse thrust his pike into the nostrils of the bastard's
 " horse ; so that, for very pain, he mounted so high,
 " that he fell on the one side with his master ; and the
 " lord Scales rode about him with his sword drawn in
 " his hand, till the king commanded the marshal to help
 " up the bastard, who openly said, I cannot hold me by
 " the clouds ; for though my horse fail me, I will not fail
 " my encounter-companion. But the king would not
 " suffer them to do any more that day. The next mor-
 " row, the two noblemen came into the field on foot,
 " with two polaxes, and fought valiantly ; but at the last
 " the point of the polaxe of the lord Scales happened to
 " enter into the sight of the bastard's helm, and by fine
 " force might have plucked him on his knees : but the
 " king suddenly cast down his warder, and then the mar-
 " shal severed them. The bastard, not content with this
 " chance, required the king, of justice, that he might
 " performe his enterprize. The lord Scales refused not.
 " But the king, calling to him the constable and the
 " marshal, with the officers of arms, after consultation
 " had, it was declared for a sentence definitive, by the
 " duke of Clarence, then constable of England (13),
 " and the duke of Norfolk, then marshal, that if he
 " would go forward with his attempted challenge, he
 " must, by the law of arms, be delivered to his adver-
 " sary in the same state and like condition as he stood
 " when he was taken from him. The bastard, hearing
 " this judgment, doubted the sequel of the matter, and
 " so relinquished his challenge (14)."

Bravery.

The bravery and martial ardour of both the British
 nations never appeared more conspicuous than in the pre-
 sent period, particularly in the reign of Henry V. The
 English under that heroic prince seemed to be invincible ;
 and fought with so much courage and success, that, to-
 wards the end of his reign, they had a very probable
 prospect of making a complete conquest of the great and
 populous kingdom of France. The Scots were much

(13) John Tiptoft, earl of Worcester, and not the duke of Clarence, was then constable. See Rym. Fœd. tom. 11. p. 581. Biographia Britannica, vol. 2. p. 1231. Note.

(14) Stowe, p. 420.

admired for the steady intrepidity with which they defended themselves, and the seasonable and successful succours they sent to their ancient allies in their greatest distress, when they were on the brink of ruin, and forsaken by all the world.

But national as well as personal courage is subject to sudden and surprising changes, which are sometimes produced by very trifling causes. There is not a more remarkable example of this in history, than that extraordinary revolution in the spirits of the French and English armies, at the siege of Orleans, A. D. 1428, which hath been already mentioned (15). Before that period, the English fought like lions, and the French fled before them like sheep. But as soon as the Maid of Orleans, a poor obscure servant-girl, about seventeen years of age, appeared on the scene of action, the fortune of the war, and the spirits of the contending nations, were entirely changed. The French became bold and daring, the English dastardly and desponding. The terror of that dreaded heroine was not confined to the English army in France, but seized the great body of the people at home, and made many who had enlisted in the service, desert, and hide themselves in holes and corners. This appears from the proclamations issued in England, commanding the sheriffs of London, and of several counties, to apprehend those who had deserted and concealed themselves *for fear of the Maid* (16). As it is imprudent to discover any distrust of national courage when war is necessary, it is no less imprudent to plunge a nation into a war, from too great a reliance on a quality that may fail when it is least expected.

The hospitality of our ancestors, particularly of the great and opulent barons, hath been much admired, and considered as a certain proof of the nobleness and generosity of their spirits. The fact is well attested. The castles of the powerful barons were capacious palaces, daily crowded with their numerous retainers, who were always welcome to their plentiful tables. They had their privy counsellors, their treasurers, marshals, constables, stewards, secretaries, chaplains, heralds, pursuivants,

Hospitality
of the great.

(15) See vol. 5. p. 62, &c.

(16) Rym. Fœd. tom. 10. p. 459. 472.

pages, henchmen or guards, trumpeters, minstrels, and, in a word, all the officers of the royal court (17). The etiquette of their families was an exact copy of that of the royal household; and some of them lived in a degree of pomp and splendour little inferior to that of the greatest kings. Richard Nevile, earl of Warwick, we are told, "was ever had in great favour of the commons of the land, because of the exceeding household which he daily kept in all countries wherever he sojourned or lay; and when he came to London, he held such an house, that six oxen were eaten at a breakfast; and every tavern was full of his meat (18)." The earls of Douglas in Scotland, before the fall of that great family, rivalled, or rather exceeded their sovereigns in pomp and profuse hospitality. But to this manner of living, it is highly probable, these great chieftains were prompted, by a desire of increasing the number and attachment of their retainers, on which, in those turbulent times, their dignity, and even their safety, depended, as much as on the innate generosity of their tempers. These retainers did not constantly reside in the families of their lords; but they wore their liveries and badges, frequently feasted in their halls, swelled their retinues on all great solemnities, attended them in their journies, and followed them into the field of battle. Some powerful chieftains had so great a number of these retainers constantly at their command, that they set the laws at defiance, were formidable to their sovereigns, and terrible to their fellow subjects; and several laws were made against giving and receiving liveries (19). But these laws produced little effect in this period.

Of inferior
rank.

Hospitality was not confined to the great and opulent, but was practised rather more than it is at present by persons in the middle and lower ranks of life. But this was owing to necessity arising from the scarcity of inns, which obliged travellers and strangers to apply to private persons for lodging and entertainment; and those who received them hospitably acquired a right to a similar reception.

(17) See the Northumberland Family-book.

(18) Stow p. 421.

(19) See Statutes, 1st Hen. IV. c. 7. 7th Hen. IV. c. 14. 8th Edward IV. c. 2.

This was evidently the case in Scotland in the first part of this period. James I. A. D. 1424, procured the following act of parliament: "It is ordanit, That in all burrow townis, and throuchfairis quhair commoun passages ar, that thair be ordanit hostillaries and refettis, hayant stables and chalmers; and that men find with thame bread and aill, and all uther fude, alfweil for horse as men, for resonable price (20)." But travellers had been so long accustomed to lodge in private houses, that these public inns were quite neglected; and those who kept them presented a petition to parliament, complaining, "That the liegis travelland in the realme, quhen they come to burrowis and throuchfairis, herbreis thame not in hostillaries, bot with thair acquaintance and freindis (21)." This produced an act prohibiting travellers to lodge in private houses where there were hostalries, under the penalty of 40s. and subjecting those who lodged them to the same penalty.

The people of Britain were not chargeable with the contempt, or even neglect, of the ceremonies of religion in this period. On the contrary, many of them spent much of their time and money in performing those ceremonies. To say nothing of the almost constant service in cathedral and conventual churches, all the great barons had chapels in their castles, which very much resembled cathedrals, in the number of their clergy and choristers; the richness of their furniture and images; and the pomp and regularity with which the service of the church was daily performed. The earl of Northumberland, for example, had constantly in his family a dean of his chapel, who was a doctor of divinity, a subdean, and nine other priests; eleven singing men and six singing boys; in all twenty-eight; who daily performed divine service in his chapel, at matins, lady-mass, high-mass, even-song, and complyne. The four first singing men acted as organists, weekly, by turns (22). This was a very splendid and expensive establishment, consisting of greater numbers than are to be found in several cathedrals.

(20) Black Acts, James I. par. 1. c. 26.

(21) Black Acts, James I. par. 3. c. 61.

(22) See Northumberland Family-book, p. 223—225.

Superstition.

But unhappily the religion of our ancestors in those times was so strongly tinged with gross irrational superstition, that it had little tendency to enlighten their minds, regulate their passions, or reform their lives. Their creed contained some articles, that their very senses, if they durst have used them, might have convinced them could not be true ; and others that were equally contrary to reason and revelation. The ceremonies of their worship were mere mechanical operations, in which their minds had little or no concern ; and they were taught to place their hopes of the divine favour on such fallacious grounds, as the pardons of a venal priest, the patronage of a saint, pilgrimages, fastings, flagellations, and the like. But the most odious feature of the religion of those times was its horrid cruelty and intolerance, which prompted them to burn their fellow-christians to ashes, because they dared to think for themselves, and to worship God in a manner which they believed to be more acceptable than the established forms.

Perjury.

It is one evidence, amongst many others, that their religion had little influence on their morals, that perjury prevailed to a degree that is hardly credible ; and the obligations of the most solemn oaths were almost totally disregarded by persons of all ranks. Of this the reader must have observed many examples in the preceding history, particularly in the conduct of Edward IV. and Richard III (23). All the lords, spiritual and temporal, in the famous parliament at Shrewsbury, A. D. 1398, called the *great parliament*, took a solemn oath on the cross of Canterbury, never to suffer any of the acts of that parliament to be changed ; and yet these same lords, in less than two years after, repealed all these acts. Various ceremonies were invented to give additional solemnity to oaths, and secure their observation. Philip the good, duke of Burgundy, A. D. 1453, in the middle of a great feast, and in the presence of his whole court, had a roasted pheasant brought to his table, with great pomp, and swore over it a most tremendous oath, that he would march an army against the great Turk ; and all the lords and knights of his court

(23) See vol. 5. p. 150 184.

swore in the same manner that they would march with him : but none of them performed their oaths (25). It is no wonder that the common people were so profligate in this respect, that not a few of them, we are told, lived by swearing for hire in courts of justice (26).

The English were remarkable in this period, among the nations of Europe, for the absurd and impious practice of prophane swearing in conversation. The count of Luxemburg, accompanied by the earls of Warwick and Stafford, visited the Maid of Orleans in her prison at Rouen, where she was chained to the floor, and loaded with irons. The count, who had sold her to the English, pretended that he had come to treat with her about her ransom. Viewing him with just resentment and disdain, she cried, " Begone ! You have neither

" the inclination nor the power to ransom me." Then turning her eyes towards the two earls, she said, " I know that you English are determined to put me to death ; and imagine, that after I am dead, you will conquer France. But though there were an hundred thousand more God-dam-meas in France than there are, they will never conquer that kingdom (27)."

So early had the English got this odious nickname, by their too frequent use of that horrid imprecation. A contemporary historian, who had frequently conversed with Henry VI. mentions it as a very remarkable and extraordinary peculiarity in the character of that prince, that he did not swear in common conversation, but reproved his ministers and officers of state when he heard them swearing (28).

An excessive irrational credulity still continued to reign in all the nations of Europe, and seems to have prevailed rather more in Britain than in some other countries. Of this many proofs might be produced. There was not a man then in England who entertained the least doubt of the reality of sorcery, necromancy, and other diabolical arts (29). Let any one peruse the

(25) Monstrelet, tom. 3. fol. 56.

(26) Wilkin. Con. p. 534.

(27) Villaret, tom. 15. p. 57.

(28) Otterbourne, edit. a T. Hearn, tom. 1. p. 300.

(29) W. Wycester, p. 461. 471. Rym. Fæd. tom. 8. p. 427. Wilkin. Concil. tom. 2. p. 394.

works of Thomas Walsingham, our best historian in this period, and he will meet with many ridiculous miracles, related with the greatest gravity, as the most unquestionable facts. The English were remarkable for one species of credulity peculiar to themselves, viz. a firm belief in the predictions of certain pretended prophets, particularly of the famous Merlin. Philip de Comines, in his relation of what passed at the interview between Edward IV. and Lewis XI. on the bridge of Picquiny (at which he was present), acquaints us, that after the two kings had saluted one another, and conversed a little together, the bishop of Ely, chancellor of England, began a harangue to the two monarchs, by telling them, that the English had a prophecy, that a great peace would be concluded between France and England at Picquiny; for the English (says Comines) are great believers in such prophecies, and have one of them ready to produce on every occasion (30).

The English
bad negoti-
ators.

The English frequently defeated the French in the field in this period, but were generally defeated by them in the cabinet. Philip de Comines, who was an excellent judge of mankind, and seems to have studied the national character of the English with great care, acknowledged that they were but blundering negotiators, and by no means a match for the French. They were easily imposed upon, he says, by dissimulation, apt to fall into a passion, and to become impatient when they were contradicted; and, in a word, that they were not so subtle, insinuating, and patient, as their adversaries, who took advantage of all their foibles (31). The English certainly committed a most grievous error, in withdrawing, in a passion, from the great congress at Arras, A. D. 1435 (32). No prince was ever more shamefully deceived by another than Edward IV. by that artful and faithless monarch Lewis XI.

Ferocity.

A fierce, and even cruel spirit, too much prevailed in both the British nations in this period, and formed a disagreeable feature in their national characters. This was owing to the violent contests, and almost constant

(30) *Memoires de Philippe de Comines*, l. 4. c. 10.

(31) *Memoires de Philippe de Comines*, l. 4. c. 6. 9.

(32) See vol. 5. p. 77.

wars, in which they were engaged ; which hardened their hearts, inflamed their passions, and made them familiar with blood and slaughter. The reader must have met with so many proofs of this fierce and cruel spirit, in perusing the first chapter of this book, that it is as unnecessary as it would be unpleasant, to multiply examples of it in this place. It is sufficient to observe in general, that the wars and battles of this period were uncommonly fierce and sanguinary ; that prisoners of distinction were generally put to death on the field, in cold blood ; that assassinations and murders were very frequent, perpetrated on persons of the greatest eminence, by the hands of kings, nobles, and near relations. The ferocity of those unhappy times was so great, that it infected the air and gentle sex, and made many ladies and gentlewomen take up arms, and follow the trade of war. “ At this siege (of Sens, A. D. 1420) also lyn manyworthy ladyes and gentilwomen, both French and English ; of the whiche many of hem begonne the faitz of armes long time agoon, but of lyying at seges now they begynne first (33.)” But the women of Wales, on one occasion, are said to have been guilty of deeds so horrid and indelicate, that they are hardly credible ; and are therefore related in the words of the original author, in the note below (34).

When

(33) Rym. Fœd. tom. 9. p. 911.

(34) Eo tempore (A. D. 1402), Howenus Gleyndor assuetis intendens irruptionibus, pene totam militiam Herefordensis provinciæ provocavit ad arma, cui ducatum præbuit Edmundus de Mortuo-mari. Sed cum perventum fuisset ad æctum martium, proditiōe mediante, et Edmundus captus et cæteri victi sunt, occisis de nostratibus amplius quam mille viris. Quorum genitalia mulieres Wallansium post conflictum absciderunt, et membrum pudendum in ore cujuslibet interempti posuerunt, testiculosque a mento dependere fecerunt, nasosque præcisos in oculis eorundem presserunt, et sepulturam mortuis cadaveribus prohibuerunt. *T. Walsing.* p. 557.

Shakespeare seems to have perused the above, of which the following lines are a delicate guarded translation :

. There came
A post from Wales, loaden with heavy news ;
Whose worst was, that the noble Mortimer,
Leading the men of Herefordshire to fight
Against th' irregular and wild Glendower,
Was by the rude hands of that Welshman taken ;

A thou-

Robbery.

When we consider the state of the country, the condition and character of many of its inhabitants, we shall not be surpris'd to hear that England was much infested with robbers in this period. Sir John Fortescue, chief justice of the king's bench in the reign of Henry VI. acknowledges that robbery was much more frequent in England than in France or Scotland; and, which is remarkable in one of his profession, he boasts of this as a proof of the superior courage of the English. "It hath ben often seen in England, that three or four theses hath sett upon seven or eight true men, and robyd them al. But it hath not ben seen in Fraunce, that seven or eight theses have ben hardy to robbe three or four true men. Wherefor it is right feld that Frenchmen be hangyd for robberye, for that thay have no hertys to do so terrible an acte. There be therefor mo men hangyd in England, in a yere, for robberye and manslaughter, than there be hangyd in Fraunce, for such cause of crime, in seven yers. There is no man hangyd in Scotland in seven yers together for robberye; and yet thay be often tymes hangyd for larceny and stelyng of goods in the absence of the owner thereof: but their harts serve them not to take a manny's goods, while he is present, and will defend it; which maner of takyng is called robberye. But the Englishmen be of another corage: for if he be poer, and see another man havyng richesse, which may be takyn from him by might, he wol not spare to do so (37)." Whatever becomes of the reasoning of the chief justice, his authority is sufficient to establish this fact, that robbery prevailed much more in England than in France or Scotland, in his time.

Manners of the clergy.

The manners of the clergy in the preceding period, which have been so fully described in the fourth volume

A thousand of his people butchered,
Upon whose dead corps there was such misale,
Such beastly shameles transformation
By the Welshwomen done, as may not be,
Without much shame, retold, or spoken of.

1st Part Henry IV. Act. 1. Scene 1.

(35) Sir John Fortescue on the difference between an absolute and limited Monarchy, ch. 13.

of this work, were so similar to those of the times we are now delineating, that, to prevent unnecessary repetitions, the reader may be referred to that description (36). For though Dr. Wickliffe and his followers declaimed with as much vehemence against the pride, ambition, avarice, cruelty, luxury, and other vices of the clergy, as against their erroneous doctrines and superstitious ceremonies, they declaimed in vain: the clergy were at least as much attached to their riches, their honours, and their pleasures, as to their speculative opinions; and as unwilling to abandon their vices as to renounce their errors. In a word, the generality of the British clergy in this period, were neither more learned, nor more virtuous, than their immediate predecessors; and seem to have differed from them in nothing but in the superior cruelty with which they persecuted the unhappy Lollards.

Great cities in general are not very friendly to the virtue of their inhabitants, especially of the young and opulent. ^{Manners of youth.} Honest Mr. Caxton observed concerning the youth of London in his time, that when they were very young, they were exceedingly amiable and promising; but that when they arrived at riper years, many of them disappointed the hopes of their friends, and dissipated the wealth that had been left them by their parents. "I see
 " that the children that ben borne within the said cyte
 " (London) encrease and proufflyte not like their faders and
 " olders; but for mooste parte, after that they had ben
 " comeyn to theyr perfight yeres of discrecion, and ry-
 " penes of age, how well that theyr faders have leste to
 " them grete quantite of goodes, yet scarcely amonge
 " ten two thrive. O blessed Lord! whan I remembre
 " thys, I am all abashed: I cannot juge the cause; but
 " fayrer, ne wyser, ne bet bespoken children in theyre
 " youthe ben no wher than ther ben in London; but at
 " thyr full ryping, there is no carnel, ne good corn
 " founden, but chaff for the moost part (37)."

It would be improper to pursue this unpleasant subject ^{Comparison.} any further. If our ancestors in this period were free from certain vices and follies which are too prevalent

(36) See vol. 4.

(37) Ames' History of Printing, p. 37.

among their posterity in the present age; they were guilty of others, some of them of a very odious nature, which do not now prevail. Let us not then imagine, from an ill-founded veneration for antiquity, that the former times were better than these. In several respects they were certainly much worse, as well as more unhappy.

Language.

The living language of a great commercial people, who cultivate the sciences, and have much intercourse with other nations, is liable to perpetual changes. These changes are introduced by slow imperceptible degrees; but in the course of a few ages they become conspicuous. The language, for example, of the people of England, in the eleventh, twelfth, and thirteenth centuries, is now as unintelligible to their posterity, as a dead or foreign language. Of this any reader may be convinced, by looking into the Saxon chronicle, or returning to the specimens of the language of those times, in the preceding volumes of this work (38). In the fourteenth century, the people of England began to speak a language which may be called English; though it was still so different from that which is spoken by their posterity in the present age, that it can hardly be understood without the assistance of a glossary (39).

Greater changes in the language of the vulgar than of the learned.

The language of the vulgar, in every age, is considerably different from that of the polite and learned; and in some times there are greater changes in the one than the other. In our present period, we find few or no improvements in the language of the learned, because there were few or no improvements made in learning. The works of Chaucer and Gower, who flourished in the fourteenth century, are as intelligible to a modern reader, as those of king James I. Lydgate, or Occleve. But we learn from the testimony of William Caxton, that the language of the common people of England underwent a very remarkable change in the course of this period. “Certainly the language now used (A. D. 1495) varyeth fene” from that which was used and spoken when I was

(38) See former vols.

(39) See the works of Chaucer, Gower, &c.

“ born. For we Englishmen ben borne under the
 “ domynacyon of the mone, which is never stedfaste,
 “ but ever waverynge (40).” The difference between
 the language most commonly used and most generally un-
 derstood, and that which was affected by the polite and
 learned, was then so great, that Mr. Caxton (who was
 much employed in translating books out of French into
 English) was greatly perplexed what words to use, in
 order to render his translations universally useful and
 agreeable. “ Some gentylmen (says he) have blamed
 “ me, saying, that in my translacions I had over cury-
 “ yus termes, which could not be understande of comyn
 “ peple, and desired me to use olde and homely terms
 “ in my translacions ; and fayn wolde I satisfy every
 “ man.—But som honest and grete clerkes have ben
 “ wyth me, and desired me to wryte the moste curyous
 “ termes that I coude fynde. And thus between playn,
 “ rude, and curious, I stand abashed (41).” To ex-
 tricate himself out of this difficulty, Caxton very wisely
 resolved to use terms neither over-rude nor over-cu-
 rious.

Difference of dialect is common to every language, in ^{Different} every age and country, especially in countries of great ^{dialects.} extent, and divided into many provinces. This differ-
 ence was so great in England, in this period, that (as
 we are told) the inhabitants of one county hardly under-
 stood those of another. “ That comynge Englishmen that
 “ is spoken in one shyre varyeth from another ; and muche,
 “ that in my dayes happened, that certayn merchaunts
 “ were in a shipp in Tamysse, for to have sailed over
 “ the see into Zelande, and for lacke of wynd they ta-
 “ rryed atte Forland, and went to land for to refreshe
 “ them ; and one of them, named Sheffelde, a mercer,
 “ came into an hows, and axed for mete, and specyally
 “ he axed after egges ; and the good wyf answerede,
 “ That she coude speke no Frenshe. And the merchaunt
 “ was angry ; for he could also speke no Frenshe ; but
 “ wolde have hadde egges, and she understode hym not.
 “ And thenne at last another sayd, that he wolde have
 “ ceyren ; thenne the good wyf sayd, that she under-
 “ stode him well (42).”

(40) Ames History of Printing, p. 52.

(41) Ames History of Printing, p. 52.

(42) Id. ibid.

Spelling
unsettled.

From the many specimens that have been given of the English of this period, in this and the preceding chapters of this book, from the best writers, both in prose and verse, the reader must have observed with some surprise their various, strange, irregular manner of spelling, which contributes not a little to the obscurity of their writings. Spelling, in those times, was so perfectly arbitrary and unsettled, that the same writer spelt the same word two or three different ways in the same page. In a word, every writer contented himself with putting together any combination of letters that occurred to him at the time, which he imagined would suggest the word he intended to his readers, without ever reflecting what letters others used, or he himself had used, on former occasions, for that purpose.

Language
of Scotland.

It is difficult to discover any very material difference between the language of England and of the low lands of Scotland, in this period; the writers of the one country being as intelligible to a modern reader as those of the other. Of this any one may be convinced, by comparing the works of Geoffrey Chaucer and John Barbour, or any two contemporary writers of the two countries. There was probably a considerable difference in the pronunciation, as there is at present.

Laws in
French.

Customs which have been long established are apt to be continued, after the change of circumstances hath rendered them absurd and inconvenient. Could any custom be more inconvenient and unreasonable, than to compose and promulgate the laws of a country in a language which few of the legislators, and hardly any of the other inhabitants understood? Such a custom prevailed in England in this period. The numerous statutes made in the reigns of Henry IV. V. and VI. and of Edward IV. except a very few in Latin, were composed, recorded, and promulgated in French (43); though that language was then very little understood or used in England. Many proofs might be produced of this last fact; but the express testimony of an author of undoubted credit, who flourished in those times, will, I hope, be thought sufficient. Honest William Caxton assures us, that the

(43) See Statutes, vol. 1, 2.

great motives which induced him to spend so much of his time in translating books out of French into English, were, “ 1. Because most quantyty of the peple under-
 “ stoud ne Frenshe here in this noble royaume of Eng-
 “ land—and, 2. To satisfy the requestes of his syngu-
 “ lar good lordes,” who needed these translations as well as others (44). Richard III. and his parliament, which met at Westminster, 20th January A. D. 1483, put an end to this absurd custom, by framing their acts in the English language (45). The acts of the parliaments of Scotland, from the beginning of this period, were composed in English, or in the language of the low lands, and most populous parts of that kingdom, which was also understood by the chieftains in the Highlands (46).

As the people of England, in this period, possessed Dress. great abundance of excellent wool, and had made considerable progress in the clothing arts, it is probable that they were comfortably and decently dressed. This conjecture is confirmed by the unexceptionable testimony of sir John Fortescue ; who, in proving that the English, who lived under a limited monarchy, were much happier than their rivals the French, who lived under a despotic government, gives this as one example of their superior happiness, that they were much better dressed or clothed. “ The French weyrn no wollyn, but if it
 “ be a pore cote, under their uttermost garment, made of
 “ grete canvas, and call it a frok. Their hosyn be of
 “ like canvas, and passin not their knee ; wherefor they
 “ be gartered, and their thyghs bare. Their uifs and
 “ children gone bare fote (47). But the English wear
 “ fine wollen cloth in all their apparell. They have al-
 “ so abundance of bed-coverings in their houses, and
 “ of all other wollen stufte (48).” It is probable, however, that sir John Fortescue, in this passage, speaks only of yeomen, substantial farmers, and artificers. For it appears, from an act of parliament made A. D. 1444, for regulating the wages and clothing of servants

(44) Ames, p. 47.

(45) Statutes, 1st Richard III.

(46) See Black Acts.

(47) Fortescue on absolute and limited Monarchy, c. 3.

(48) *Id* De Laudibus Legum Angliæ, cap. 36.

employed in husbandry, that their dress and furniture could hardly answer the above description. By that law, a bailiff or overseer was to have an allowance of 5s. equivalent to 50s. a-year, for his clothing; a hind or principal servant, 4s. equivalent to 40s. at present; an ordinary servant, 3s. 4d. equivalent to 33s. 4d (49). But as all these persons were allowed meat, drink, and wages, they might be comfortably and decently clothed, by expending a part of their wages on their clothing. The dress of labourers and common people in this period appears to have been simple and well contrived, consisting of shoes, hose made of cloth, breeches, a jacket and coat buttoned, and fastened about the body by a belt or girdle. They covered their heads with bonnets of cloth (50). As the common people could not afford to follow the capricious changes of fashion, the dress of both sexes in that order seems to have continued nearly the same through several ages.

Robes of
the nobility,
&c.

But comfort and decency are not the only, very often not the chief objects regarded in dress. It hath been an ancient and universal custom, to distinguish the different ranks and professions in society by their different robes and dresses. The robes worn by the kings, princes, dukes, earls, lords, and knights of England, on public solemnities, are so well known, and have been so often described, that a minute delineation of them in this place is unnecessary, and would be tedious. As those of persons of rank in Scotland, in this period, are not so generally known, they may be briefly mentioned (51). The robes of the earls, lords of parliament, and burghesses in the parliaments of Scotland, were prescribed by the following law, made in the reign of James II. A. D. 1455: "It is statute and ordainit, that all erlis
" fall use mantillis of browne granit, oppin befoir, fur-
" rit with quhyte lynning, and lynit befoir outwith an
" hand braid to the belt steid, with samen furring, with
" lytell huds of the samen claitis, and to be usit upon
" their schuldaris. And the uther lordis of parliament

(49) Statute, 23d Hen. VI. c. 12.

(50) See Mr. Strutt's useful work, vol. 2. plate 3.

(51) See Selken's Titles of Honour, Ainslie's History of the Garter, Strutt's Antiquities.

“ to have an mantell of reid, rychtswa oppenit befoir,
 “ and lynit with silk, or furrit with crissy gray grece,
 “ or purray, togider with an hude of the samen claith,
 “ furrit as said is. And all commissaries of burrowis,
 “ ilk ane to have ane pair of clokis of blew, furrt fute
 “ fyde, oppin on the rycht schuldar, furrit as alleiris,
 “ and with huds of the samn, as said is. And quhat
 “ erl, lord of parliament, commissaries of burrowis,
 “ that enteris in parliament or generall counfall but
 “ [without] the said habit sumit, fall furthwith pay
 “ tharefter ten pundis to the king unforgiven (52).” By
 the same law, advocates, who spoke for money in par-
 liament, are commanded “ to have habits of grene,
 “ of the fassoun of a tunekil, and the sleeves to be oppin
 “ as a talbert (53).” How antic and ridiculous an ap-
 pearance would an advocate make at the bar, in the pre-
 sent age, in this dress ! but the magic power of fashion
 makes almost any habit appear graceful while it is
 fashionable.

As vanity contributed as much as necessity to the in-
 troduction and use of clothing, that powerful universal
 passion hath presided ever since in the province of dress,
 and produced an almost innumerable multitude of modes
 and fashions in every age. Many of these fashions ap-
 pear to us ridiculous ; some of them were certainly in-
 convenient ; few of them deserve to be recorded or re-
 vived ; and therefore a very brief notice of the most re-
 markable of them, it is hoped, will be sufficient to
 gratify the reader’s curiosity. To attempt a minute detail
 of them all, in regular succession, would be as vain
 as to attempt such a detail of the shape of last year’s
 clouds, and as unbecoming the dignity of general his-
 tory.

Those fashions that are most absurd and troublesome,
 and most keenly opposed and censured, are commonly
 most permanent. Folly is fickle when it is let alone,
 but obstinate when it is opposed. No fashion could be
 more absurd and troublesome than that of the long-
 pointed shoes, with which they could not walk till they
 were tied to their knees with chains. This fashion was

(52) Black Acts, 28th James II. chap. 52.

(53) Ibid.

condemned by the papal bulls, and the decrees of councils, and declaimed against with great vehemence by the clergy ; and yet it prevailed, in some degree, almost three centuries (54). At length the parliament of England interposed, by an act, A. D. 1463, prohibiting the use of shoes or boots with pikes exceeding two inches in length, and prohibiting all shoemakers to make shoes or boots with longer pikes, under severe penalties (55). But even this was not sufficient to put an end to this ridiculous inconvenient fashion. The civil power was obliged to call in the aid of the church ; and a proclamation was published in all parts of England, denouncing the dreaded sentence of excommunication, beside all other penalties, against all who wore shoes or boots with pikes longer than two inches (56).

Dress of a
beau.

The dress of the beaux and fine gentlemen of England, in this period, was remarkably scrimp and light. Their stockings and breeches were in one piece, as tight to their limbs as possible, like the tartan trouse of the gentlemen in the highlands of Scotland. Their coats or jackets were very short, reaching only an inch or two below the top of their breeches ; and John Rows of Warwick complains bitterly, that by the shortness of their coats they exposed those parts to view which ought to have been concealed (57). Parliament also attempted to prevent this indecency, and made an act, A. D. 1463, that no man should wear a jacket but what was of such a length, that when he stood upright it should hide his buttocks (58). But the power of fashion was greater than the power of parliament. Long hair was much admired by the gay, and as much condemned by the grave, particularly by the clergy, in this period. John Rows reproaches the beaux of his time for suffering their long hair to cover their foreheads, on which they had been marked with the sign of the cross, at their baptism (59). On their heads they wore bonnets of cloth,

(54) W. Malm. p. 69. J. Rossi Hist. p. 205.

(55) Stat. es. 3d Edw. IV. ch. 1.

(56) Stow, p. 419.

(57) J. Rossi Hist. p. 131.

(58) Statute, 3d Edw. IV. Stow, p. 419.

(59) J. Rossi Hist. p. 131.

filk, or velvet, adorned with pearls and precious stones (60). In winter and bad weather they used mantles, which were at some times as short as their jackets, and at other times so long, that their sleeves reached the ground. These mantles with long sleeves are ridiculed by the poet Occleve, in the following lines :

Now hath this land little nede of broomes,
To sweep away the filth out of the streete,
Sin side sleeves of pennilefs groomes
Will it uplike, be it dry or weete.

When Henry prince of Wales, afterwards Henry V. waited on his father Henry IV. in order to make his peace, he was dressed in a mantle or gown of blue fattin, full of small oylet holes, with a needle hanging at every hole by a filk thread (61). This was sufficiently ridiculous, but it was the fashion.

The young, gay, and opulent of the fair sex were not ^{Ladies} less fond of ornaments, nor less fickle and fanciful in the ^{head-dress.} fashions of their dress, than their admirers. As it would be ungraceful to dwell on this subject, I shall mention only one of these fashions. The head-dresses of the ladies were exceedingly large, lofty, and broad. This mode was introduced in the preceding period, prevailed long both in France and England, and at length arrived at a most enormous pitch (62). When Isabel of Bavaria, the vain, voluptuous consort of Charles VI. kept her court at Vincennes, A. D. 1416, it was found necessary to make all the doors of the palace both higher and wider, to admit the head-dresses of the queen and her ladies (63). To support the breadth of these dresses, they had a kind of artificial horn on each side of the head, bending upwards, on which many folds of ribbons and other ornaments were suspended. From the top of the

(60) See the figure of a Beau in Strutt's Antiquities, vol. 3. plate 1.

(61) Hollinghed, p. 1160.

(62) See vol. 4. J. Rossi Hist. p. 205.

(63) Villaret, tom. 13. p. 423. Monstrelet, f. 39. col. 2. Pasquier, p. 578.

horn on the right side, a streamer, of silk or some other light fabric, was hung, which was sometimes allowed to fly loose, and sometimes brought over the bosom, and wrapt about the left-arm (64). These head-dresses, by their immense size, admitted a great variety of ornaments, and thereby afforded the ladies an opportunity of displaying their taste and fancy to advantage.

Sumptuary
laws.

The extravagance of both sexes, and of all ranks, in their dress, hath been a subject of complaint in every age, and in none more than in our present period. The parliament of England attempted to set bounds to that extravagance, by several sumptuary laws, particularly by two acts in the reign of Edward IV (65). But vanity is invincible; and these, and other acts of that kind, served only to give a different turn to extravagance.

In Scotland.

When we reflect on the unhappy circumstances of the people of Scotland in this period, we might imagine that there could be no need of sumptuary laws in that kingdom. But that was not the case. In the reign of James II. the following curious law was made, A. D. 1457:

“ That sen the realme in ilk estate is gretumly purit
 “ throw sumptuous cleithing, baith of men and women,
 “ and in special within burrowis, the lords thinkis
 “ speedful, that restriction be maid thair of, in this man-
 “ ner: That no man within burgh that lives be mer-
 “ chandice, bot gif he be a persoun constitute in digni-
 “ tie, as alderman, baillic, or other gude worthy men,
 “ that are of the counsell of the towne, and thair wyfis,
 “ wair claiths of silk, nor costly scarlettis in gownis, or
 “ furrings with mertrikis. And that thay mak thair
 “ wyfis and dochters, in like maner, be abilzeet ganand
 “ and correspondand for thair estate; that is to say, on
 “ thair heides schort courchis with lytil hudis, as are
 “ usit in Flanders, Ingland, and other countreis. And
 “ as to thair gownis, that na wemen weir mertrikis, nor
 “ letties, tailis unfasten lenth, nor furrit under, bot on
 “ the haly day (66).” This law was evidently dictated
 by the pride of the great lords, to check the vanity of

(64) See Strutt, vol. 2. plate 6.

(65) Statutes, 3d and 22d Edw. IV.

(66) Black Acts, James II. ch. 73.

burghers, their wives and daughters, who presumed to dress like lords and ladies.

The diet of the people of England, in general, in Diet. this period (if we may believe Sir John Fortescue), was neither coarse nor scanty. "They drink (says he) no water, except when they abstain from other drinks, by way of penance, and from a principle of devotion. They eat plentifully of all kinds of fish and flesh, with which their country abounds (67)." This was probably intended for a description of the manner in which persons in good circumstances, in the richest parts of the kingdom, lived in years of plenty. It is also necessary to remark, that it was the chief design of this patriotic writer, to convince his royal pupil, prince Edward, that the subjects of a limited monarch were much happier than the slaves of an absolute sovereign. With this view, he painted both the plenty and prosperity of the English, and the poverty and misery of the French, in the strongest colours. "The commons in France (says he) be so impoverished and destroyd that they may unith lyve. Thay drynke water, thay eate apples, with bred right brown, made of rye. Thay eate no flesche, but if it be selden, a litill larde, or of the intrails or heds of bests sclayne for the nobles and merchaunts of the land (68)." But though it was true, that England had suffered less than France by the ravages of war and the exactions of government, and that the English in general lived better than the French, there is sufficient evidence that the labourers and common people, especially in the north of England, did not possess that plenty and variety of provisions mentioned by Sir John Fortescue. Æneas Silvius, afterwards pope Pius II. assures us, that none of the inhabitants of a populous village in Northumberland, in which he lodged, A. D. 1437, had ever seen either wine or wheat-bread; and that they expressed great surprise when they saw them on his table (69). In years of scarcity, which were too frequent, the common people were involved in great distress, and not a few of

(67) Fortescue de Laudibus Legum Angliæ, cap. 36.

(68) Fortescue, of absolute and limited Monarchy, chap. 3.

(69) Opera Pii Secundi, p. 5.

them died of hunger, or of diseases contracted by the use of unwholesome food (70).

Luxury of monks.

The monks in rich monasteries lived more fully, and even more delicately, than almost any other order of men in the kingdom. The office of chief cook was one of the great offices in these monasteries, and was conferred, with great impartiality, on that brother who had studied the art of cookery with most success. The historian of Croyland abbey speaks highly in praise of brother Laurence Chateres, the cook of that monastery; who, prompted by the love of God, and zeal for religion, had given forty pounds (equivalent to 409l. at present) “for the recreation of the convent with the milk of almonds on fish-days.” He gives us also a long and very particular statute that was made for the equitable distribution of this almond-milk, with the finest bread and best honey (71).

Of the secular clergy.

The secular clergy were no enemies to the pleasures of the table; and some of them contrived to convert gluttony and drunkenness into religious ceremonies, by the celebration of glutton-masses, as they very properly called them. These glutton-masses were celebrated five times a-year, in honour of the Virgin Mary, in this manner: Early in the morning, the people of the parish assembled in the church, loaded with ample stores of meats and drinks of all kinds. As soon as mass ended, the feast began, in which the clergy and laity engaged with equal ardour. The church was turned into a tavern, and became a scene of excessive riot and intemperance. The priests and people of different parishes entered into formal contests, which of them should have the greatest glutton-mass, i. e. which of them should devour the greatest quantities of meat and drink, in honour of the holy Virgin (72).

Scotland.

The English noblemen and gentlemen who accompanied James I. and his queen into Scotland, A. D. 1424, introduced, it is said, a more luxurious way of living into that kingdom than had formerly been known;

(70) Hist. Croyland, p. 518. See former vols.

(71) Hist. Croyland, p. 497, 498.

(72) Wilkin. Concilia, tom. 3. p. 389.

which gave great offence to such of the nobility as admired the temperance and frugality of their ancestors. Henry Wardlaw, bishop of St. Andrew's (if we may believe Hector Boyce), made a long and eloquent harangue to the king in a parliament at Perth, A. D. 1433, against that new and extravagant mode of living introduced by the English; and in consequence of that harangue, an act of parliament was made, regulating the manner in which persons of all orders should live, and, in particular, prohibiting the use of pies and other baked meats (then first known in Scotland) to all under the rank of barons (73).

It was now become the custom in great families, to have four meals a-day, viz. breakfasts, dinners, suppers, and liveries, which was a kind of collation in their bed-chambers immediately before they went to rest. As our ancestors in this period were still early risers, they breakfasted at seven, and dined at ten o'clock forenoon, supped at four afternoon, and had their liveries between eight and nine; soon after which they went to bed. But though they breakfasted thus early, their appetites seem to have been sufficiently keen (74). The breakfast of an earl and his countess, on Sundays, Tuesdays, Thursdays, and Saturdays, in the holy fast of Lent, was, "first a loaf of bread in trenchors, two manchets (75), a quart of beer, a quart of wine, two pieces of salt fish, six baconed herrings, four white herrings, or a dish of sproits (76)." This, for two persons, at seven o'clock in the morning, was a tolerable allowance for a day of fasting. Their suppers on these days were equally plentiful. Their breakfast on flesh-days was, "first a loaf of bread in trenchors, two manchets, a quart of beer, a quart of wine, half a chyne of mutton, or a chyne of beef boiled (77)." The liveries, or evening-collations, for the lord and lady were, "first two manchets, a loaf of household bread, a gallon of beer, and a quart of wine (78)."

Manner of
living in
great families.

(73) H. Boeth. lib. 17. f. 350.

(74) Northumberland family-book, c. 41, and notes on p. 310.

(75) A manchet was a small loaf of the finest bread, weight 6 ounces.

(76) Northumberland family-book, p. 73.

(77) Id. p. 75.

(78) Id. p. 96.

The wine was warmed, and mixed with spices. No rule was fixed for dinners, as these were the principal meals, at which they entertained their company. It is remarkable, that shopkeepers, mechanics, and labourers, breakfasted at eight in the morning, dined at noon, and supped at six in the evening; which were later hours than those of the nobility. So different are the customs of one age from those of another.

Entertain-
ment.

The hospitality of the great and opulent barons of this period hath been already mentioned (79). These barons not only kept numerous households, but they frequently entertained still greater numbers of their retainers, friends, and vassals. These entertainments were conducted with much formal pomp and stateliness, but not with equal delicacy and cleanliness. The lord of the mansion sat in state, in his great chamber, at the head of his long clumsy oaken board; and his guests were seated on each side, on long hard benches or forms, exactly according to their stations; and happy was the man whose rank intitled him to be placed above the great family silver-salt in the middle. The table was loaded with capacious pewter dishes, filled with salted beef, mutton, and butcher-meat of all kinds; with venison, poultry, sea-fowls, wild-fowls, game, fish, &c. &c. dressed in different ways, according to the fashion of the times. The side-boards were plentifully furnished with ale, beer, and wines, which were handed to the company, when called for, in pewter and wooden cups, by the marshals, grooms, yeomen, and waiters of the chamber, ranged in regular order. But with all this pomp and plenty, there was little elegance. The guests were all obliged to use their fingers instead of forks, as these most simple and useful instruments, which contribute so much to cleanliness, were not yet invented (80). They sat down to table at ten o'clock in the forenoon, and did not rise from it till one in the afternoon; by which three of the best hours of the day were consumed in gormandizing (81).

(79) See p. 489 490.

(80) Coryat's Crudities, p. 90, 91.

(81) Northum. Book, p. 310. 314.

The feasts at coronations and royal marriages, and at the installations of great prelates, were exceedingly splendid in this period; and at these feasts prodigious multitudes were entertained. The marriage-feast of Henry IV. and his queen, Jane of Navarre, consisted of six courses; three of flesh and fowls, and three of fish. All these courses were accompanied and adorned with *suttleties*, as they were called. These *suttleties* were figures in pastry, of men, women, beasts, birds, &c. placed on the table, to be admired, but not touched. Each figure had a label affixed to it; containing some wise or witty saying, suited to the occasion of the feast, which was the reason they were called *suttleties* (82). The installation-feast of George Neville, archbishop of York, and chancellor of England, exceeded all others in splendour and expence, and in the number and quality of the guests. The reader may form some idea of this enormous feast, by perusing the catalogue of the provisions prepared for it, which he will find in the Appendix, No. VI.

Few things are more permanent, and less liable to change, than national diversions. The sports of the field have been the favourite diversions of persons of rank and fortune through many successive ages; and, in the short intervals of peace between one war and another, were pursued with as much ardour in this as in any other period (83). For more than five centuries after the Norman conquest, princes, nobles, knights, and esquires, displayed their courage, strength, and dexterity, in horsemanship, and the use of arms, in splendid tilts and tournaments, for the entertainment of the great and the fair; while the common people diverted themselves with the humbler seats of boxing, wrestling, leaping, running, &c. &c. Our Saxon ancestors, in the wilds and woods of Germany, were as desperate adventurers at games of chance, as the most

(82) See Strutt, vol. 2. p. 101—104.

(83) Every baron in Scotland was obliged by law to hunt the wolf four times a-year, attended by all his tenants, in the proper season; and every sheriff, with all the barons and freeholders of his county, were obliged to have three great wolf-huntings in the year. But this was from necessity, and not merely for amusement, as that country was still infested by these destructive animals. Black Acts, James I. ch. 115; James II. ch. 98.

thoughtless and fearless of their posterity in the present times ; and we meet with complaints of the prevalence of this pernicious humour in every intervening age (84). Miracles, mysteries, and moralities (which have been already described), continued, with very little variation, to be the only representations that resembled theatrical entertainments for several centuries, in the middle ages, and were so in the present period (85). The foot-ball was, in those times, a favourite diversion of the common people ; and the hand-ball, of persons of rank and fortune, who played with it on horseback as well as on foot, for great sums of money (86).⁶ There was never wanting in the middle ages, a great number of jugglers, minstrels, mimics, mummers, tumblers, ropedancers, and other artists, who supported themselves by diverting others ; and they seem to have been no contemptible performers in their several arts (87). In a word, the amusements of persons of all ranks, for more than five centuries after the conquest, were so much the same, that it is unnecessary to give a minute detail of them in every period ; and it will be sufficient to describe, in their proper places, such new amusements as have been introduced from time to time.

Certain
games pro-
hibited.

Such was the martial spirit that reigned in our present period, that the legislators of both the British kingdoms attempted to compel the people to relinquish their most favourite pastimes, and to spend all their leisure hours in archery. With this view, the following law was made in Scotland, A. D. 1424 : “ It is statute, and the
“ king forbidis, that na man play at the fute-ball, un-
“ der the pane of 40 shillings, als oft as he be taintit :
“ And that all men busk thame to be archaris fra thay
“ be twelve years of age ; and that ilk ten pundis worth
“ of land, thair be maid bowmarkis, and specially
“ near parochie-kirkis, whair, upone halie days, men
“ may cum, and at the leist schute thryse about, and
“ have usage of archery (88).” With the same view, a

(84) See former vols.

(85) Pasquier, p. 382.

(86) St. Foix *Essais sur Paris*, tom. 1. p. 342.

(87) In Mr. Strutt's work, vol. 2. plate 6. we see the figure of a bagpiper, with a man on his shoulders dancing to his music, and the figure of another artist standing on one foot, and balancing a spear on his nose.

(88) Black Acts, James I. c. 19, 20.

law was made in England to the following purport—
 “ Though, by the laws of this land, no man shall play
 “ at unlawful games, as coits, foot-ball, and the like
 “ games, but that every able-bodied man shall daily prac-
 “ tise archery, because the defence of the kingdom de-
 “ pends on archers; yet, notwithstanding these laws,
 “ many evil-disposed persons, of all ranks, play at
 “ those and at other newly-invented games, called cloish,
 “ kayles, half-boul, handin-handout, and quicke-
 “ borde.” The act then proceeds to paint, in very
 strong colours, the fatal effects of playing at these games,
 and to prohibit the use of them, under very severe pe-
 nalties (89). How unhappy were those times, in which
 such laws were expedient, or rather necessary !

Though card-playing is not named among the new
 games in the above act of parliament, it was certainly <sup>Card-play-
ing.</sup> introduced into Britain in the course of this period.
 Playing-cards were made, and probably invented, about
 the end of the fourteenth or beginning of the fifteenth cen-
 tury, by Jaquemin Gringonneur, a painter in Paris. They
 were invented, it is said, for the amusement of that un-
 happy prince, Charles VI. in his lucid intervals.
 That they were made for, and used by that prince, is
 evident, from the following article in his treasurer's ac-
 counts : “ Paid fifty-six shillings of Paris, to Jaquemin
 “ Gringonneur the painter, for three packs of cards,
 “ gilded with gold, and painted with diverse colours and
 “ diverse devices, to be carried to the king for his
 “ amusement (90).” From the above article we per-
 ceive that playing-cards were originally very different in
 their appearance and their price from what they are at
 present. They were gilded, and the figures were painted
 or illuminated, which required no little skill and genius,
 as well as labour. The price of one pack of these cards
 was no less than 18s. 8d. of Paris, a very considerable
 sum in those times. This last circumstance is probably
 one reason that playing-cards were little known or used
 for a good many years after they were invented.

(89) Statutes, 17th Ed. IV. c. 3.

(90) Mr. Saintfoix *Essais sur Paris*, tom. I. p. 341.

Though I have met with several complaints of the too great prevalence of dice-playing, I have met with none with regard to card-playing, in the writers of those times. By degrees, however, cards became cheaper, and the use of them more common ; and we have the evidence of an act of parliament, that both card-playing and card-making were known and practised in England before the end of this period. On an application of the card-makers of London to parliament, A. D. 1463, an act was made against the importation of playing-cards (91). But if the progress of card-playing was slow at first, it hath since become sufficiently rapid and extensive, to the cost of many unfortunate gamesters, and the loss of many others, who spend too much of their time in that insatiating amusement.

(91) Statutes, 3d Edw. IV. c. 4.

A P P E N D I X

T O T H E

F I F T H B O O K.



N U M B E R I.

Example of the Bombast, being part of Thomas de Elmham's description of the Battle of Agincourt.

O ! letale bellum, dira strages, clades mortalis, fames mortis, fitis cruoris infaciabilis, furibundus impetus, furor impetuofus, infania vehemens, crudelis conflictus, inmisericors ulcio, lancearum fragor inmenfus, fagittarum garritus, securium concuffus, enſium vibracio, armorum dirupcio, vulnerum impreſſio, effuſio ſanguinis, induccio mortis, corporum diſſolucio, nobilium occiſio, ær fragoribus horrendis tonitruat, nubes miſſilia impluunt, tellus cruorem abſorbet, ſpiritus a corporibus evolant, ſemiviva corpora proprio ſanguine volutant, cadaveribus occiſorum terræ ſuperficies operitur. Iſte invadit, ille cadit, iſte aggreditur, ille moritur, iſte animum revocat, ille animam cum cruore ſimul eruſtat, occiſor irafcitur, occiſus mœrore conteritur, victus reddi deſiderat, victorum impetus reddicionis tempora non exſpectat, ſævicia regnat, pietas exulat, fortes et ſtrenui opprimuntur et montes cadaverum cumilântur, multitudo maxima traditur morti, principes et magnates ducuntur captivi, &c. &c.

N U M B E R I I.

Carta ordinan Robertum Dominum Boyd Gubernatorem Regni et Persone Regis.

JACOBUS Dei gratia Rex Scotorum omnibus probis hominibus suis ad quos presentes literę pervenerint salutem Quia nos in parlamento nostro ultimo tenet apud Edinburgh mentem nostram coram tribus regni nostri statibus declaravimus quod quamplurimum nobis placuit ut consanguineus noster Robertus Dominus Boide gubernationem et regimen nostre persone et fratrum nostrorum et fortalicionum tanquam unus de intimis nostris consiliis habeat in nostre auctoritatis regie et justicie executione usque ad nostram etatem legitimam viginti unius annorum Eapropter dictum Robertum Dominum Boid consanguineum nostrum ex consensu et deliberatione ceterorum dominorum nostri concilii gubernatorem nostre persone ac fratrum nostrorum et fortalicionum usque ad nostram etatem predictam confecimus et ordinavimus ac ut premittitur constitimus et ordinamus per presentes strictius inhiberi ne quis in contrarium presentis nostre ordinationis aliquatenus devenire presumat sub omni pena quam erga nostram regiam incurrere poterit majestatem in hac parte Dat sub magno sigillo nostro apud Striveling vicesimo quinto die mensis Octobris anno Domini millesimo quadringentesimo sexagesimo sexto et regni nostri septimo.

Faithfully copied from the records of the great seal.

N U M B E R I I I .

Pacification of Blacknefs.

THIR ar the articles uppone ye quhilk or foverain lord fall gif commissioun under his gret sele to ye lordis under written Yat is to say ye bischop of Aberden chancellor the erlis of Huntlie Erole Merschaile lord Glammys & Alexander Lindefay to comone conclude & end with yir lordis followand Yat is to say ye bischop of Glasgw ye erlis of Angus Ergile lord Halis lord Lile the quhilkis lordis fall hafte full commissioun of my lord prince & of all the lordis being with him.

In the first to comone and conclude yat ye kingis hie honor estate riale autorite be exaltit conservit & borne up at he may exhers justice univversally to all his liegis in all ye pertis of his realm.

Item, At his maist noble persone be at all tymes in honor securitie & fredome & at yar be prelatiis erlis lordis & baronis & utheris persons of wisdome prudence & of gud disposition & unsuspect to his hienes & evinly to all his liegis dayly about his nobil persoun to the gud giding of his realme & lieges.

Item, Yat all ye persons being about my lord prince yt has in tym bygane done displeisr to his hienes mak honorable & agreabile amendis to his hienes be ye wisdome and discretione of the said lordis yar lissis heretage & honouris except.

Item, Yat ye kingis hienes fall giff honorabill sustentation & levin to my lord prince his sone at ye consideration of ye saidis lordis.

Item, At wiss lordis & honorabill persons of wisdome and discretioun evinly & of gud dispositioun sal be dayly about my lord prince for the gud governance of him and securite of his person in his tender age.

Item, To aviss comone & conclude how my lord prince fall in all tymes to cum be obedient to his faider ye king & how yt faiderly luff and tendernes fall at all tymis be had be twex yame.

Item,

Item, How ye lordis and uyir perfons being about my lord prince fall haf or foverane lordis favoris & grace & hertly forgevinnyis & yar perfons to be in securiteas best can be divisit be ye said lordis for ony displeſſir done to ye kingis hienes in ony tym bygane.

Item, At my lord prince fall tak in hertlie favoris all lordis ſpiritual and temporale & all uyris perfons yat has ben with the kingis hienes in conſale or uyir ſervice now in yis tyme of truble.

Item, At al diſcentions and diſcordis now ſtandand or beand be teux ony lordis or gret baronis of baith ye pertis ſal be drawin be ye wiſdome of ye ſaid lordis to unite concord ſat yt luſſ & favour may ſtand ymangis oure foverane lordis liegis and peax to be had & juſtice to proceed & ſpealy be tuix ye erle of Buchain & lord Lile &c.

The foreſaid pacification was preſented in the firſt parliament of king James IV. and bears to be ſigned by the king's own hand.

Extracted from the regiſters of parliament.

N U M B E R IV.

List of the Members who were present the first day in the Parliament of Scotland, which met June 1, A. D. 1478; being the first list of the kind that occurs in the records of Parliament.

<i>Episcopi.</i>	<i>Barones.</i>	<i>Commissarii burgorum.</i>
Glasguen	Dominus Hammiltoun	Edinburgh
Dunkelden	Dns Erskyn	Aberden
Aberdonen	Dns Abernethy	Perth
Moravien	Dns Kilmawaris	Strivelyne
Candide case	Dns Maxwale	Linlithgw
	Dns Haliburtoun	Haddington
	Dns Carlile	Aire
<i>Abbates et Prelati.</i>	Dns Lindefay de Byris	Ruyerglen
	Dns Lyle	Irwyn
Dumfermlyn	Dns Oliphant	Berwick
Kelfo	Dns Cathkert	Dumbretane
Melrofs	Dns Sommerville	Carrale
Sti Columbe	Preceptor de Torfechin	Coupir
Kilwynyng	Will. Edmundifton	Santandris.
Secretarius	Dns Stobhall	
Clericus registri	Dns de Bafs	
	Dns de Scraling	
Offici Glasguen	Dns Craigmillar	
Offici Dunkelden	Dns de Dundafs	
Offici Laudonie	Dns de Kerfs	
	Dns Robertus Ham- miltoun	
Comes Angusie	Johes Haldan de Gle-	
Comes de Rothes.	negafs	
	Dns Flemyng	

The three Committees chosen the first Day of every Parliament.

Ad Causas.

Pro Prelatis.

Ninianus Epus Candide case

Mag. Will. Elphinstoun officialis Laudonie

Mag. David Meldrum offic. Dunkeld

Pro Baronibus.

James of Creichton prepositus de Edinburgh

Alexander Foulis

Johannes Knollis

Ad Decisionem Judicii.

Pro Articulis Advifandis.

Abbas de Calco

Archi.^{nus} Glasguen Rerik

Thefaura.^{us} Glasguen Carmichell

Pro Baronibus.

Dns Abernethy

Dns de Skraling

Willms Edmondifon

Pro Commissariis.

Johannes Multrar

Alexander Bunche

Matheus Forefter

Epi. Glasguen

Aberdonen

Moravien

Cancellarius

Comes Angusie

Dns Hammilton

Henricus Caunt

Patricius Baroun

Willielmus Monorgund (1).

Very few of the prelates or great barons attended this parliament, owing to their discontent, and the distracted state of the country, occasioned by the death of the earl of Mar, and the imprisonment of the duke of Albany, the king's brothers.

(1) Extracted from the records of parliament.

N U M B E R V.

Letter of Remission by Patrick Graham, Archbishop of St. Andrew's, to John Martin, citizen there.

WE Patrick, by the mercy of God, archbishop of St. Andrew's, lord of regality thereof, for divers and fundry reasonable considerations moving us thereto, have remitted, discharged, and freely forgiven our lovite John Martine, citizen of our city of St. Andrew's, and by the tenor hereof remits, discharges, and freely forgives him, in our sovereign lord's name and authority, and ours, for the transporting forth of the realm, and carrying away, by himself, or others in his name, at fundry times, tallow, molten taugh, or other forbidden goods, geer, or merchandize, contrary to the tenor of the acts of parliament, laws, and constitutions of this realm, and also for all other crimes or faults done, committed, assisted to, or fortified by him in any time bygone, albeit the same be greater than the said special crime or fault above expressed; anent the quhilk we dispense with him, and grants him full, free, and plain remission for the same; and that he shall never be attacht, called, adjourned, summoned, nor accused therefor, nor yet troubled and molested for the same, in his person, goods, nor geer, any manner of way, but to be as free thereof as if the samen had never been committed by him: and thir letters of remit to be extended in maist ample form, so oft as need beis.

N. B. This remit is signed by the archbishop, and hath part of his seal yet to be seen upon it.

N U M B E R VI.

The Goodly Provision made for the Installation,
feast of George Neville, Archbishop of York,
A. D. 1466.

In wheat, quarters,	-	300
In ale, tuns,	-	300
In wine, tuns,	-	100
In ipocrasse, pipes,	-	1
In oxen,	-	104
In wild bulls,	-	6
In muttons,	-	1000
In veals,	-	304
In porkes,	-	304
In swanns,	-	400
In geese,	-	2000
In cappons,	-	1000
In piggs,	-	2000
In plovers,	-	400
In quailles,	-	1200
In fowles called rees,	-	2400
In peacocks,	-	104
In mallards and teales,	-	4000
In cranes,	-	204
In kidds,	-	204
In chickens,	-	2000
In pigeons,	-	2000
In connies,	-	4000
In bittors,	-	204
In heronshaws,	-	400
In pshesants,	-	200
In pertridges,	-	500
In woodcocks,	-	400
In curlews,	-	100
In egrits,	-	1000
In staggs, bucks, and roes,	-	500 and more.
In pasties of venison, cold	-	4000
In parted dishes of jellies,	-	1000

In plain dishes of jellies,	3000
In cold tearts, baked,	4000
In cold custards, baked,	3000
In hot pasties of venison,	1500
In hot custards,	2000
In pikes and breams,	308
In porpoises and seals,	12
Spices, sugared delicates, and wafers, plenty.	

This curious bill of fare will give the reader some idea of this enormous feast. No turkies are mentioned in it, because they were not then known in England. Cranes, heronshaws, porpoises, and seals, are seldom seen at modern entertainments.

END OF THE FIFTH VOLUME.









